

Mothers' Management of Paid Work and Childcare in Korea

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December 2019

Abstract

This thesis aims to understand the ways in which Korean working mothers manage childcare despite work commitments and how they have succeeded in remaining in the paid workforce. This qualitative study was needed to compensate for a lack of qualitative studies on this topic. It was also vital in helping to close the gaps between policy statements and real life, given that surveys have reported that government policies have failed to meet the needs of working mothers, resulting in career-break for childcare.

Skinner (2003) provided the conceptual basis for empirical research. The relevant literature also provided useful ideas for designing an analytical framework. The fieldwork was conducted in South Korea in 2014. Twenty-three employed mothers with dependent children aged 0 to 12 years participated in semi-structured interviews. The interview data were analysed according to the framework approach (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994).

Working mothers rose to their challenges by using their own strategies and resources. The strategies were both visible and invisible. Visible strategies indicated making practical arrangements such as multiple childcare arrangements, family adjustment, scheduling their commute and managing daily journeys for children. These strategies involved temporal, spatial, and living arrangements. The invisible strategies were mothers' hidden work: managing relationships with non-parental caregivers by avoiding conflicts and maximising time with children.

These strategies featured flexible solutions or resources in order to cope with inflexible workplace and Confucian gendered ideology, resulting in time constraints for mothering and feelings of guilt. Though they apparently succeeded in staying in work, mothers were found to be quite dependent on family resources for staying in paid work because the workplace would not accommodate them. Thus, policy makers should focus on making the workplace culture more amenable to working mothers and consider the amount of emotional work that they are doing.

This thesis adds to the qualitative knowledge of Korea's working mothers. In particular, their hidden strategies and practical arrangements will provide a new understanding of the daily practices of dual-earner families and gender issues in a Confucian society. Future research can consider respondents from other backgrounds given that this study is limited to Korean women. It would also be worthwhile to explore the meaningful themes found in this thesis such as wraparound care, grandmother care, emotion work, or applying Skinner's framework (2003) to other countries.

Thesis Introduction

The overarching aim of this thesis is to explore the everyday experiences of Korean working mothers to understand how they manage paid work and childcare commitments effectively. Interest in the problems they might face in managing working and caring arose from my experience as a nursery teacher in Korea¹. While working as a teacher in a busy nursery, I found that young children's working mothers were struggling to balance their careers and maternal responsibilities. I went on later to study a MA in Childhood in Society and in my dissertation I compared gender conceptions between Korean and English children. I interviewed preschool children and they revealed that Korean working mothers may experience difficulties. For example, Korean children frequently expressed how busy their mothers were, like "My mum is too busy to bind my hair". The problems of reconciling work and family life for Korean mothers seemed to involve cultural and historical factors, but also included structural problems that would require policy intervention to improve.

Through those experiences, I became interested in how and why policies have failed to support working mothers in Korea, and what research is needed to help develop more effective policies. The researchers' own experiences tend to stimulate their curiosity and interests which should be associated with social and policy problems in order to formulate research questions (Marshall and Rossman, 1999). The research questions formed for this thesis therefore were; "What are the everyday experiences for working mothers?" and "Are the relevant policies meeting the needs of working mothers in Korea?" In this respect, the following sections will present how social problems and theoretical rationales generated the research framework for this thesis.

Background

In Korea, working mothers emerged as a phenomenon of industrialisation in the 1960s and the female employment rate has dramatically increased in line with rapid economic growth (Yi, BY² 2008). Whilst the female employment rate increased dramatically over the last five decades, recently it has slowed; since 2010 it has only risen from 52 per cent to 55. 7 per cent in 2015. These figures are still lower than OECD average for female employment (58. 6%) (OECD, 2016a). Legislation and government initiatives for supporting mothers' labour force participation have been made in gender, family, labour, and childcare policies. Yet, despite the social changes and

¹ Throughout this thesis, 'Korea' refers to 'South Korea' (Republic of Korea). In terms of brief country statistical profile, Central Intelligence Agency (2016) shows the information as follows; population (49,115,196), GDP per capita (35,400 USD), location (Eastern Asia), government type (republic), ethnic groups (homogeneous).

² Since many Korean authors had duplicated surnames, this thesis necessarily put the initials of first names in order to distinguish among same surnames. For instance, Mina Lee will be written as 'Lee, MN (2016)' instead of 'Lee (2016)'.

policy responses, diverse evidences reveal that there are still barriers to mothers' employment in Korea.

Evidence shows that among working mothers who quit their jobs, lack of childcare (48%) was reported as the most significant issue (Statistics Korea, 2011). That is, the burden of childcare makes working mothers give up their careers in many cases. Patterns of female employment rates also suggest 'career breaks' among the age group of women who are most likely to engage in child rearing. In Korea, the female employment rate drops from 68 per cent among 25-29 year olds to 59 per cent (30-34 year) and 54 per cent (35-39 years) and increases again to 62 per cent in 40-44 year old groups (OECD, 2016a). This is known as "M-pattern" and in comparison, OECD countries tend to demonstrate almost identical employment ratios (ranged 65 to 69%) in most age groups on average (OECD, 2016a). This implies that there could be barriers to paid work for women when they reach their thirties related to child birth and child rearing in Korea.

However, it is difficult to be certain as there is no data on maternal employment rates in Korean statistics but there is fertility data. According to the 'Ages Specific Fertility Rate' (ASFR) (Statistics Korea, 2015), Korean women mainly experienced childbirth in their late twenties (25-29 years) and early thirties (30-34 years) with the rate decreasing considerably among 35-39 years old. Also, the average number of children of married women increased according to the mothers' age from 0.8 (25-29 years) to 1.35 children (30-34 years) and 1.79 (35-39 years) (Joo, Hong and Park 2016). Conceivably, many married women in their thirties may experience an intensive period of childrearing in order to raise infants or preschool children and this might explain the sharp reduction in employment rates among women in their thirties. At the same time, the fertility rate in Korea is low, suggesting mothers' reluctance to have more children.

Esping-Anderson (2009) asserted that a low fertility rate is a typical phenomenon emerging after the revolution in gender roles such as the increase in mother's labour force participation rates. In Korea, the total fertility rate³ has continuously declined from the 1970s (4.53 in 1970, 1.41 in 1999) at the same time as the female employment soared and these changes are reflected in the recent low average fertility rate at 1.2 in 2014 (Statistics Korea, 2015). Korea is in fact one of the super-low fertility countries as ranked 5th (in ascending order) among 224 countries worldwide (Central Intelligence Agency, 2016) and is the lowest (1.19) among OECD countries in 2013 (OECD, 2016b). Crucially, Korea has achieved economic growth by means of investing in human resources and higher education following an extreme shortage of natural resources (Park and Chung, 2014; Shin, JC 2015). In a long-term perspective, the low fertility rate thereby has been regarded as the major cause of reducing the economically active population in the future (Lee, JW et al., 2012).

³ Total fertility rate indicates the estimated number of babies that fertile women (aged 15-49) might be expected to have in their whole life (Statistics Korea, 2016d).

Therefore, to tackle the problem of low fertility, the Korean government has given attention to policies supporting female employment. Yet, the career break pattern and low birth rate indicates continued failure of policies to meet the needs of working mothers, described as 'Mummy wars' in the real world (Steiner, 2007). It is therefore important to consider employment of mothers and the role of the state in supporting them.

In the East Asian welfare context, it is difficult for the state to generate family policies in comparison to Western countries (Kim and Choi, 2011), because family policy in East Asia has to face the problem of reconciling traditional Confucius values with the new dual-earner model (Yoon, HS et al., 2011). On the one hand, the value of family welfare provision has been stressed with a heavy reliance on familial responsibility (e.g. childcare) without relying on governmental support. On the other hand, the state tries to enhance female employment rates to support the economy. To achieve harmony with both sides of the requirements, family policies need to consider reconciling unpaid care work and paid work to increase the employment rates of mothers (Kim, JW 2009). Accordingly, since the mid-2000s, a work-life balance policy has begun in earnest in accordance with the welfare reform in the second progressive regime (President Roh, Moo-Hyun: 2003-2008) (Chin, M et al., 2012). Work-life balance policy has been recognized as the most effective support for working mothers. In this regard, the notion of political motherhood has emerged which indicates the state needs to share child care responsibilities, especially for dual-earner families (Won, SY 2006). Legislation and government initiatives for supporting mothers' labour force participation have therefore been made in gender equality, family, labour, and childcare policies. Particularly, the reformation of childcare policy has been regarded as the core solution for working mothers' work-life balance.

Childcare policies have continually been revised since the Roh government (Shin, YJ 2013) and policy responses have aimed to relieve gendered responsibilities by means of defamilialised childcare through market provision (Won, SY 2006). However, it is doubtful how effective the policy has been in practice. Several reports discovered that working mothers still say the biggest challenge for work-life balance is the 'burden of childrearing' (Joo, Hong and Park, 2016). It seems childcare policies have failed to solve individual needs as well as meet governmental concerns (e.g. produce higher female employment rates and fertility rates). Relevant research studies have mainly focused on the failure of mothers to reconcile their multiple roles of mother and worker, and there is a lot of information on the emotional problems they face (Choi and Cho 2007; Jun, SM 2007; Kim, EY 2013; Kim, KW 2009; Kim, NH et al., 2013; Kwon, BR et al., 2011; Lee, SE 2010; Lee, YE 2012; Oh, YM 2015; Son, SM 2012; Sung, JW 2011; Yang and Shin 2011). Consequently, the emotional burdens resulted in mothers taking a career-break (Kang, EJ 2012; Song, ES 2012; Um, GA 2010) and avoiding further childbirth (Lee, IS 2011; Lee, SH 2011; Yoo, JH 2013).

Nevertheless, it is noticeable that some mothers still manage to keep working despite the negative factors and possible emotional problems. In order to understand more of the challenges mothers might face in reconciling work and childcare, this thesis aims to explore working mothers' experiences in depth to consider how they face the challenges. Given their working hours, working mothers necessarily have to delegate some parts of mothering to non-parental caregiver (Forsberg, 2009; Uttal, 1996). In this regard, questions of 'how working mothers succeed in managing paid work and childcare' and 'how hard it is to achieve' remain unanswered. Existing literature has tended to demonstrate the policy and its consequences, focusing on how the 'problematic environment' (e.g. gendered workplace behaviours and practices) produced 'problematic results' (e.g. quitting work and taking a career-break). Also, the predominant methodology of Korean studies has employed quantitative methods, focusing on questions of 'what' happens, and on patterns of change. They have not been able to focus on answering questions that explain how mothers do, or do not, manage to combine childcare and work commitments. Therefore, little is known about what happens on typical working days and the mothers' practices in daily life. In that sense, it is necessary to look at working mothers' everyday experiences to hear their views and understand their behaviours in more depth, which would necessarily require a qualitative methodology (Flick, 2006; Mason, 2002).

Research Aims

This thesis aims to provide a more comprehensive understanding of what working mothers do in practice and it will be vital in helping to fill the gaps between policy statements and real life situations. Overall, the empirical research will explore mothers' management of work and care, which may be quite different from the experiences of Western women. Therefore, this thesis will contribute new knowledge about Korean working mothers and insights into the Confucian culture of East Asian women. It will explore in-depth, the everyday experiences of working mothers with young children. It will consider how they manage childcare arrangements with work commitments and how they have succeeded in staying in work. This focus is crucial for uncovering the hidden management strategies used by working mothers and will help raise questions about the appropriateness of policy approaches designed to support them.

In terms of managing paid work and childcare, many western studies have provided useful evidence (Carriero et al., 2009; Fothergill, 2013; Forsberg, 2009; Skinner, 2003; Uttal, 1996). Skinner's work (2003) provides a useful framework in terms of describing what is involved for mothers in managing the daily journeys of family members and themselves going to and from work and care settings and highlights how these generate 'coordination points' that need to be managed with the help of others (see chapter Five). The 'whole family approach' used by Citizens

Advice (2014) will also provide practical ideas for understanding multiple childcare arrangements involving family members.

Given the aims, the overarching question that this thesis will address is 'how do working mothers with young children manage work and childcare?' The term 'manage' is used to indicate all the processes involved in making arrangements for childcare, such as choosing childcare, matching childcare hours to fit with working hours, and in the Korean context, managing multiple roles as a mother, worker, wife and daughter-in-law. 'Childcare' mainly indicates non-parental childcare to cover parents' paid work, which also includes childcare used for extracurricular educational activities for children. Whilst the main focus is on qualitative design, to answer some of the sub research questions, a new secondary analysis of administrative data was also conducted by the author to determine:

- What types of formal childcare are available in Korea? (see Chapter Three)

For the qualitative element, the sub research questions are:

- What types of childcare do working mothers with young children regularly arrange (daily and weekly)?
- What do they prepare for managing childcare and paid work?
- How do working mothers manage and coordinate childcare with work commitments?
- What difficulties (if any) do they face in coordinating childcare with their working hours (and school hours if they have older children)? What are the factors that affect this process of coordination?
- What strategies have they used to enable effective coordination?
- Do they get any help with managing and coordinating work and care responsibilities and, if so, from whom and in what ways and to what benefit?
- What strategies have they used to manage good mothering and work commitments and what factors do they take into consideration for providing good mothering?
- How do working mothers of young children feel about their roles as workers, carers, wife and daughters-in-law?
- Do they experience gender inequities in managing work and childcare?
- What are the policy implications arising out of this examination of the everyday practices of working mothers?

Thesis Outline

This thesis will be structured as follows. The literature review will be discussed in Chapters One to Four. Chapters One, Two, and Three will illustrate the policy context which will be helpful for understanding Korean society and culture. Specifically, Chapter One will describe the historical context which aims to investigate economic history and the range of economic drivers to increase women's (and mother's) labour market participation. It will explain the rapid economic growth, socio-economic changes including the economic crisis and will explore how the Korean government has pursued policies to cope with social changes. Chapter Two will examine the contemporary context of socio-economic circumstances related to female labour force participation and review current policies for maternal employment (mostly, leave policies) and provide the policy critiques in terms of policy effectiveness. As a key influential contextual factor, Confucianism will also be examined focusing on how it influences family life, working life, and welfare provision. Chapter Three provides a new analysis of administrative data to show the types of childcare services and which options are available for parents according to child's age and the time periods of availability in the day. It will also show patterns of usage of formal childcare services. It is distinguished from the discussion on childcare in Chapter Two as it provides a new analysis and is narrowly focused on describing services in more detail to explain available childcare options. This analysis will be helpful in understanding mothers' experiences in Chapter Four in terms of arranging childcare.

Chapter Four focuses on a mothers' individual experience to help understand how they combined childcare and paid work. In particular, it will examine the importance of family care in terms of its reliability and flexibility and moves on to investigate the multiple roles faced by working mothers, the challenges related to a gendered workplace culture, and any feelings of guilt as mothers. Chapter Four will finalise by identifying research gaps in the Korean literature and provide an analytical framework for conducting empirical qualitative research. As a methodology chapter, Chapter Five will describe the rationale for employing a qualitative approach. In addition, it will explain how sampling, recruitment, and interviews were conducted and how ethical issues were considered and ethical approval was granted. Briefly, 23 respondents who had at least one dependent child (aged below 13 years old) were involved in semi-structured interviews.

Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight report the findings from the qualitative study as follows: Chapter Six explores how non-parental childcare arrangements were made in preparation for labour force participation. Based on the results in Chapter Six, Chapter Seven conceptualizes different types of working hours and childcare arrangements into typical and non-typical working hours, describing specific wraparound care provisions related directly to the circumstances of Korean working mothers. It will also show how families managed daily journeys from home, to childcare, and the workplace, focusing on how parents (or caregivers) dropped off and picked up the children across

those places. Chapter Eight concentrates on the social and culture practices around family relationships (being a mother, wife and daughter-in-law) and the importance of managing these relationships in order to sustain childcare arrangements and work commitments.

Chapter nine will discuss main findings and how this thesis can make contributions to adding new knowledge. Finally, chapter ten will summarise the main findings and this chapter will raise discussions about implications for future policy directions in Korea, as well as making recommendations for future research studies.

Chapter One The Korean Cultural And Policy Context

Introduction

Chapter one aims to introduce contemporary issues, focusing on the development of welfare regime⁴ in the Korean context. This chapter looks at the socio-economic and cultural factors related to female employment and the influence of Confucian practices in contemporary Korea. In short, this chapter lays out the policy and cultural context to the thesis in order to set the scene for understanding mothers labour force participation rates and the challenges they face as well as the critiques of family policy and current state of policy developments regarding family friendly approaches. The structure is as follows: Section 1.1 provides the background and discusses female participation rates and fertility rates. Section 1.2 sets the Confucian cultural and policy context and section 1.3 discusses the development of the Korean welfare state before situating the family policy developments in section 1.4 and describing some of the policy making processes and practices used in relation to childcare policies in section 1.5. It is essential to discuss Confucianism and gender for understanding Korean welfare regime, especially for mothers in paid work (Sung, SR, 2003). ‘Gendered welfare regime’ like Confucian society cannot become true welfare regime. Gender and the typology of welfare regime develop each other by interactions (Jang, et al., 2014; Nam, CH, 2011).

1.1 Background

Economic growth and women’s labour force participation

One of the key drivers to increases in female employment has been Korea’s dramatic transition in terms of economic and political development following liberation from Japanese colonial rule in 1945⁵ and following the war against North Korea in 1950-1953. The Korean War ruined Korean soil with Korea remaining one of the poorest countries until 1960 (Chang, HJ 2006). Thereafter, during president Park Jung-Hee’s (1961-1979) tenure, the main concern was post-war reconstruction and making the transition from an agricultural country to a state-lead industrialized nation based on an ‘independent economy’ (Kim, HA 2011). As a result, Korea accomplished the most remarkable and rapid economic growth in Asia over the 1960s to 1970s, called ‘The Miracle of Han River’ (Park, KA 1993; Valli, 2010; Yang, et al., 2006). Consequently,

⁴ There is no definition agreed by scholars, This thesis thus mainly use the term ‘welfare regime’(Walker and Wong 2005). ‘Welfare state’ also will be frequently used for stressing government’s role.

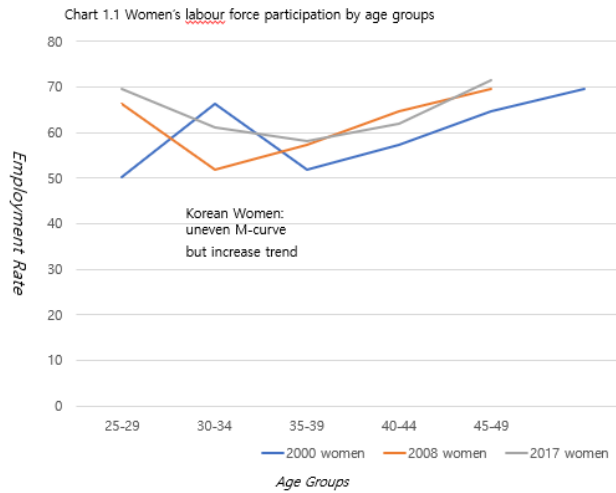
⁵Japanese colonial regime had occupied Korea (the ‘Joseon’ dynasty at that time) from 1910 until 1945, when Japan was defeated in World War II (Caprio, 2014).

national income had soared about twenty times in twenty years. GDP rose from \$3.892 in 1960 to \$21.459 in 1975 and up again to \$63.834 in 1980 (The World Bank, 2013). Women significantly contributed to the national economy by providing a labour workforce in the manufacturing industry. The numbers in employment sharply increased from 2,633,000 (1963), to 4,110,000 (1973), to 5,680,000 (1983) (Statistics Korea, 2016a). Correspondingly, the female employment rate⁶ continued to increase up from 41 per cent in 1980, to 55 per cent in 2014 (Statistics Korea, 2016b). By 2017, this had risen to 66.1 percent, up 0.4 percentage point from the previous year. Even so, it was still below the OECD average and was seventh lowest (Jung, SY, 2017). Half of women left labour market due to marriage. More seriously, remaining female workers quit the jobs due to childbirth (28.4%) and parenting (7.2%) (Jung, SY, 2017). That is, one-third of female workers tend to give up their earning roles for caring children. Clearly there are still barriers to female employment and this is a concern for the Korean government.

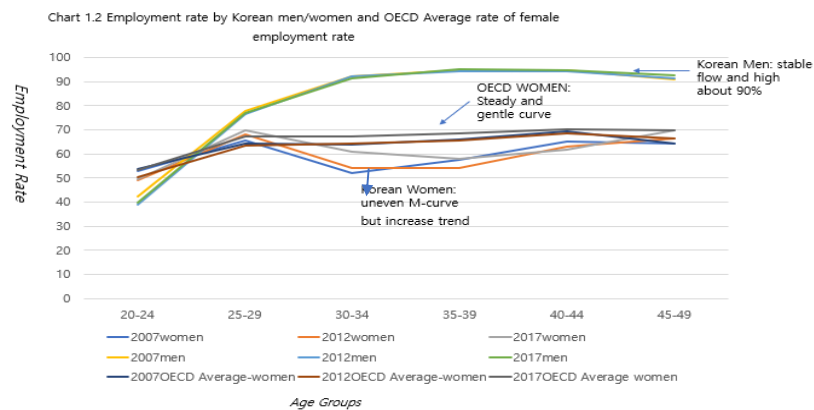
Female employment rate

Female Labour force participation rates shows an M pattern (chart 1.1 and 1.2), meaning that the rate varies depending on age of women when they become mothers. Chart 1.1 shows the women's employment over the ten years. It shows a dip in female rates around the reproductive years (ages in their late 20s to early 30s) and implies that there could be barriers for mothers (Yeo, YJ et al., 2014). This evident M-pattern seems to be concerned with women's life course events of childbearing and childrearing. On the other hand, in the next chart, male employment rates stay steady around 90 per cent during their thirties and forties. According to an analysis on social index in Korea, the majority of married women in their thirties (65.4%) said that the main obstruction to female employment was the burden of childcare (Statistics Korea 2016e). It was much higher rate than answers from women in their twenties (40.8%) or forties (52%), which seems to be related to intensive period for childbirth and rearing dependent children. OECD women (chart 1.2) shows almost flat curve, which signifies they tend to stay in labour force regardless of child birth.

⁶ Employment rate indicates how much percent of people are working together with economically active people (aged 15-64) (OECD, 2016m).



Source: OECD (2018): LFS (Labor Force Survey) by sex and age



Source: OECD (2018): LFS (Labor Force Survey) by sex and age

The mother's age at childbirth provides further evidence for the relationship between career-break and age-employment profiles. The 'Ages Specific Fertility Rate' (ASFR) shows the fertility rate according to the number of new born babies from a thousand women in across each age group (Statistics Korea, 2018e). The rates show that Korean women mainly experienced childbirth in their late twenties (47.8 per thousand women in 25-29 years) and early thirties (97.7 per thousand women aged 30-34 years), whereas the rate rapidly declines from ages 35-39 to 47.2 per thousand women (Statistics Korea, 2018e). As a result, before 40s, the average number of children born to married women increased according to mothers' age from 0.8 (25-29 years) to

1.35 children (30-34 years) and 1.79 (35-39 years) (Joo, Hong and Park, 2016). Many married women in their thirties therefore may experience the intensive period of childbirth and raising infants or preschool children and we know that rearing 0-2 years old babies significantly dropped the employment rate of women aged 25-39 years (Yeo, YJ et al., 2014). Whilst there is no data specifically collected for maternal employment rates in Korea, the latest OECD figures show that Korea still had an M shaped pattern in female employment rates (OECD 2017), though the curve is more flat than previous years. Female employment rate is 56.9 per cent still lower than OECD average (60.1%) (OECD 2018). Furthermore, considerable women workers are concentrated in “low-paying-non-regular” jobs in comparison to men (OECD, 2018 ,p.39). That is, through female employment rate shows increase trend, labour conditions could be poor, which will make M-pattern continue. Despite overall increased rates in female employment, whilst relatively low by OECD standards, this has generated a new social problem for Korea - a highly reduced fertility rate.

Fertility rate

In Korea, the total fertility rate⁷ has continuously declined since the 1970s (4.53 in 1970, 1.41 in 1999) (Statistics Korea, 2015a) which is contrary to the rise in employment during the same period. In 2009, Korea recorded the lowest fertility rate (1.15 births per woman) among all OECD countries (OECD, 2016b). However, it recovered ever so slightly to 1.24 in 2015 (Statistics Korea, 2016d). Even so, Korea is still one of the super-low fertility countries ranked 6th among 224 countries worldwide in 2017 (Central Intelligence Agency, 2018) and has the lowest rate among the OECD countries in 2013 (OECD, 2016b). In 2017, the total fertility rate in Korea was at an all-time low, at 1.05 births per woman (Statistics Korea 2018). As major government project, government tried to implement various policies (e.g. protection of pregnancy women, free childcare service), it is still far below from normal population replacement level. The fertility rate has ever increased for a short time, it was temporary phenomenon (Woo and Han, 2018). Park et al.(2017) investigated problems of low fertility rate based on future-oriented perspective, expecting current low fertility (and aging society) impacting on Korean future society. They made a range of scenario highlighting prospect in not only individual but also households. In all the scenarios, household scale will be getting increased and decreased again as a form of parabola, because every scenario (almost same) will be maintained for a long time below the replacement level of population. Reaching the peak of the parabola will happen differently according to fertility and mortality. High fertility and low mortality society will slowly reach the peak, whilst low fertility and high mortality society will arrive the peak quickly and household scale will be generally small. Thus, single-person household (including elderly household) will be increased and ‘couple household’ will outpace’ couple and child household’ (Park et al.,2017). Therefore, it is

⁷ Total fertility rate indicates estimated number of babies that fertile women (aged 15-49) might be expected to have in their whole life (Statistics Korea, 2015a).

important to outrun current population replacement level, but it seems that low fertility rate in Korea will be maintained as many scholars expected.

Hakim (2000) argued from a review of academic literature, that fertility rates tend to decrease in the industrialized but less-developed countries (like Korea) because of a lack of social support which seemed to limit women's choices about their lives (e.g. education, job opportunities). This continual decline in fertility rate would therefore suggest the Korean government has failed to resolve crucial problems such as the difficulties women face in managing paid work and family life and the impact this might have on their decisions to have children or more children. For example, married women who had ever experienced employment had 2.1 children in their whole life, while married women who had never experienced employment had 2.6 children (Population census report, 2010). Therefore, rearing children (in particular, multiple children) could negatively impact on mothers' staying in employment and maternal employment could reduce fertility rates, it seems that Korean policy makers have yet to create effective family policies. OECD report 'Economic Surveys: Korea 2016' states: 'Increasing the take-up of maternity and parental leave, expanding the availability of high-quality childcare, reducing working time, narrowing the large gender wage gap and eliminating discrimination would also increase opportunities for women' (OECD 2016). Certainly evidence on the attitudes of Korean women to work-life balance, reports 'the burden of childcare' as the main barrier to juggling paid work and family life.

Burden of childcare

In a study by Joo, Hong and Park, (2016) they found the majority of married women (74.8%) saw childcare as the main obstruction to employment. In addition, among married women who had already quit their jobs, their main reason was the burden of childcare (28.7%) (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 2011). Notably, the burden of childcare seems to be more serious when children are younger, as most mothers rearing preschool children (74.5%) said childcare was the main reason for not taking a job (Statistics Korea, 2014a). Whereas in comparison, only 51 per cent of mothers with school aged children said childcare was the reason. Thus, the results show that caring for preschool aged children was a barrier to employment, even though most mothers of preschool children preferred to keep their own careers (90.9%) (Statistics Korea, 2014a).

In the East Asian welfare context however it is difficult for the state to generate family policies in comparison to Western countries (Kim and Choi, 2011), because family policy in East Asia has to face the problem of reconciling traditional Confucian values with the new dual-earner model in which mothers are workers first rather than carers (Yoon, HS et al., 2011). In addition, the culture of Confucianism has influenced the development of a Korean welfare state. Song and Lee (2016) explored why working mothers avoid having second child and there were three types. The first

reason was no support from fathers (not sharing childcare). Second reason was workplace that is not impossible for reconciling paid work and childrearing. Lastly, limited living cost, that is, the shortage of household budget was the problem. Thus, we can see the importance of supporting working mothers from home and workplace in this Confucian society. Confucianism will be further explored in the following section.

1.2 Confucianism: Cultural and Policy Context

Confucian values and practices are embedded in the daily lives of people in East Asia, which still has an impact on cultural, political, philosophical, ethical, and cultural ideas (Bell, 2003). China developed Confucianism as an ethical and philosophical theory and Korea (during the Chosen Dynasty, 1392–1910) promoted the neo-Confucianism under the influence of China (Nyitray, 2007). The system has taken strong root in Korean society, for which East Asian countries have shared similar cultural traditions originating from Confucian heritage (Ruby and Sam, 2013). In order to grasp Confucian norms, fidelity, obedience, relationship, responsibility are useful terms, they describe the restrictions imposed on the attitudes and behaviours of people as a kind of ethical wisdom rather than as statute law (Yi and Chan, 2008). Sin (2012, p.7-8) defined the concept of Confucianism as follows.

“From the perspectives of Confucian ethics, individuals are not autonomous but are social beings defined and refined through their relationships with others and with their communities. Therefore, rights, duties, and responsibilities must be defined in terms of relationships. As a code of social ethics, Confucianism refers to the norms prescribing proper interpersonal relationships. As a code of political ethics, Confucianism refers to the principles defining the relationships between rulers and the ruled.”

Regarding variables used for typology of welfare regime, the index of ‘individualism’ is useful for discovering Confucian welfare state by its strong informal solidarity with community in Korea (Hong, GJ, 1999). In terms of stressing the importance of relationships, it is obviously distinguished from the western views on valuing individual liberty (Lee, MJ 1998). Lee, MJ (1998) defined the Confucian state as a magnified model of a family characterized by hierarchical, collective and patriarchal relations. Due to these hierarchical norms, political (ruler-subject), familial (parent-to-child) and conjugal (husband-to-wife) relations were strictly regulated (Ling, 2003). In order to identify the influence of Confucianism on working mothers and their lives, the Confucian concept can be separately examined based on three areas: family, workplace, and government. Confucian cultural underpinning has long been in a “consistent flow” and is still now (Barrett, 2015, p.59).

Confucianism in the family

The Confucian ideology has generated the hierarchy in familial relationships, which strongly remains a patriarchal culture. Particularly, with the stress on men's superiority compared to women's which confines women's actions as requiring obedience. Passive and virtuous attitudes were thus considered as ideal behaviours of women (Lee, MJ 1998). The Confucian based attitudes of Korean women can be called 'gender conformity' (West and Zimmerman 2009). Accordingly, the wife's position was typically at the bottom in the traditional family and the relationship between husband and wife was extremely hierarchical (Lee, MJ 1998). It is notable the 'three-obedience doctrine' showing how the Confucian tradition has justified gender segregation. Under this doctrine, applying it to women's whole life (Yi and Chan, 2008), women must obey their father until marriage (filial piety), their husband after marriage (filial piety to parents-in-law) and their son after their partner's death. This took women's sacrifice for granted in the name of its contribution to providing a peaceful and stable family life. Despite rapid social changes, the discriminatory gendered norm of being a 'wise mother' and 'good wife' in a Confucian patriarchal family was still influential and made many contemporary women follow the tradition (Choi, H 2009). It has required active promotion of work-family balance policies within the still strongly rooted Confucian culture (Sung, SR 2014; Chin, M et al., 2012). Korea has shown problematic low fertility rate and the strong familism unconsciously causes 'latent low fertility' (Esping Anderson, 1990). According to Sung, SR (2014), Korea is still far from an egalitarian regime in spite of policy improvements and social changes. The social change includes industrialization, a pro-democracy movement, globalization, economic growth, IT powerhouse and influence from Western culture. It seems that the influences could not have changed family culture.

Confucianism in the workplace

Like family culture at home, workplace culture is also hard to be changed, which make mother-worker feel exhausted. Especially The loyalty behaviour is regarded as a more important value than caring family (Kee, TS, 2008). Since the childcare burden can be a barrier to meeting organizational demands, working mothers have been given inferior status in the workplace as not only being female's inferior to men, but also inferior to other women who are childless (Won, 2003). As a result, many firms have generated gender discrimination, for example a gender wage gap and limited promotion opportunities for women (Patterson and Walcutt, 2013). Hence, despite the rise in female employment over several decades, employed mothers have been in a subordinate and disadvantaged position in organizations where traditional Confucian culture remains influential. Kim and Kim (2018) interviewed working mothers' difficulties and demands related to child rearing. The mothers worried about losing own career and non-supportive company's attitudes. At home, the mothers felt the life is hard to lead as a working mother. Especially, the interviewees worked in a company known for irregular working times. Thus the

mothers felt negative emotion towards no support from government. Mothers wanted to receive childcare supports at the social and government level. It is because that their difficulties are not individual problems but social phenomenon. Due to the company's continuous indifferent attitudes, the mother workers felt bitter against government.

So far, Confucianism in relation to the family and workplace has been discussed, now the relationship between Confucianism and welfare regime at the government level will be discussed as this is important to understand the context for the production of family policies that support women's and mothers' employment. It will begin with a description of Esping-Anderson's welfare regime typologies and the position of Korea as an emerging welfare state.

1.3 Confucianism and the Korean Welfare State/ Regime

Esping-Anderson (1990; 1999; 2009) asserted that family, market, and the state are key to the formation of a welfare state. Though Esping-Anderson focused on research in European countries, his theory can be applied to Korea and other Asian countries (Esping Anderson, 2014)⁸. Esping-Andersen (1999, p.34) used the term 'welfare' to explain the responsibilities of state, family, and market (three welfare triad) and compared the relationships among the three variables in Europe and the United States.

Three worlds of welfare capitalism

In here, a description of Esping-Anderson welfare regime typologies will be discussed. It shows how he grouped countries into 3 types of welfare regimes. Esping-Anderson who is an author of <Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism> (henceforth, Three worlds) asserted economically developed capitalism states can be clustered into three typologies.

Table 1.1 Typology of three worlds of welfare capitalism

Social stratification	De-commodification	
	HIGH	LOW
HIGH	Conservative Regimes (Germany, Netherlands)	-
LOW	Social democratic regimes (Sweden, Denmark)	Liberal regimes (Ireland, U.S.A, Canada)

Source: Reconstructed from Deeming (2017), Hudson and Lowe (2009)⁹, Esping-Anderson

⁸ Korean translation (2014) of Esping-Anderson (2009). The translation includes discussions Korea by Esping-Anderson.

(2006)

Esping-Anderson asserted the importance of government intervention and state-civilian relationship influencing on the development of welfare state. But at the same time, he claimed political factors like mobilising working class is also influential. The characteristics of politics system tend to impact on the degree of mobilising people (Hudson and Lowe, 2009). Although various ideas support diverse systems, idea is not enough to make differences among regimes. According to Esping-Anderson (2006), privatization cannot produce good results, which was tried in the previous conservative government. Currently, the merits of Korea is that welfare state is not fixed or systemized yet (it can be flexible during development). Therefore, Korea is eligible for closing to Western welfare regime. Esping-Anderson hoped good political decisions make Korea become a welfare state like many European countries.

De-commodification and social stratification are the core concepts of this book '*Three worlds of welfare capitalism*' (Ahn, JH, 2013) The concept indicates individual's living level is independent from lending and borrowing money and guarantee of welfare is provided separately from market. Denmark, Sweden, and Netherland are examples and they can assert welfare states by themselves (Esping-Anderson 2006, p.13).

Typology of welfare regimes premises on three triad: market, family, and state. These factors make welfare regime and distinguish Three worlds of welfare capitalism. Table 1.1 shows the typology, brief characteristics, and example countries (Esping-Anderson 2006, p.59-62)¹⁰.

First, Liberal Regime; strongly emphasis on market. However, governmental role is also merely residual. English speaking countries are mainly included like Canada, U.S.A. and Ireland. Deeming (2017) analyzed the degree of liberalism. The score presents how far each welfare state meet the principles of liberalism. As a result, US (12), Canada (12) recorded highest degree, and Australia (10), UK (6), Ireland (2), New Zealand (2) were followed. Sweden and Norway were could not get score (0 in both countries). These countries feature payment based on means test, universal income transfer, and social insurance. To receive social welfare benefits, eligibility rules are quite strict, often related to social stigma, and degree of payment is generally low (minimum guarantee).

Second, conservative regimes include German France, and Austria. It has strong tradition of national social insurance. They also stress on familialism by delegating welfare (care)

¹⁰ Korean translation (2006) of Esping-Anderson (1990). The translation includes discussions Korea by Esping-Anderson.

responsibility to family or relatives. We can see corporatism in those countries. Corporatism social system has been designed by church and stick to maintaining traditional family. Social insurance generally exclude housewife and family payment supports maternity. Care (child, elderly) system is generally less developed. With supplementary nature, government is involved in the family's matter only when family is exhausted.

Lastly, social democratic regime in Scandinavia countries features comprehensive and universal social rights provision. The social rights will help de-commodification and de-familialism. Like traditional financial supports, it has been regarded as civil rights. In these countries, dual structure of government and market is now allowed like other worlds. The governments seek to highest level of equality welfare regime. It means that increasing service and payment including neo-middle class as well and laborers are able to enjoy privileges like top class by improving equality.

As mentioned, de-commodification and stratification are the key point for understanding three worlds. We now move to discuss those two concepts.

De-commercialization

In this part, one of the most important key terms is 'de-commercialization'. De-commodification has three characteristics (Esping-Anderson, 2006, p.53-55)

- 1) De-commodification is related to labour movement, because worker's resources reflect market's inequality. Since employees and non-employees separated, the emergence of labour movement is difficult. Employers always show negative attitudes towards de-commodification, because it strengthen worker's power and employer lose absolute power.
- 2) De-commercialized nation select strictly compulsory national social insurance. However, it cannot confirm substansive de-commodification, because joining qualification is quite particualr.
- 3) The third dominant wlefare model is Beveridge-type citizen's benefit looks like the most obviours way. However, this model provides basic and same payment to every citizen regardless of income, payment or accomplishment. Nobody can be sure it is de-commodification system, because the system could not give true labour selection right to people.

Esping-Anderson considered that human being's needs and labour force can become commercialization. Capitalism emerged at the same time when 'pre-commercialization' state. 'Labour' was regarded as a commodity, which has been main issues in philosopy and social thoery (Esping-Anderson, 2006, p.68-69). If Esping-Anderson suggested de-commercialization (Esping-Andersen, 1990), it might be criticized by many feminists for a lack of consideration of women's

inferior position. In other words, since Esping-Andersen (1990) proposed the concept of de-commercialization, many feminists (O'Connor 1993, Lister 1994; Sainsberry 1996, Lewis 1997; Orloff 2003) had criticized, because the women's workforce was difficult to commercialize then due to traditional gender roles. Mothering could magnify the traditional gender role premised on mother's main responsibility for childcare and as a result, it limited female participation in the labour force.

De-commercialization however, played important roles in welfare states despite feminists' negative reactions. It was forced to play different roles from traditional gendered roles. This part looks at how de-commercialization impacts on the three worlds of welfare regimes. In here, policy welfare of each sector does not examine in depth (e.g. Esping-Andersen). In here, comparative state regime theories will be main focus. Esping-Andersen showed how each regime can exist at the same time. This research design has been developed by three-triad which are based de-commodification, and stratification. Two indexes made real welfare state multifactorially and analyzed in varied dimension. Through this process, three typologies of welfare regimes were discovered; liberalism, conservative, and social-democracy regimes.

Regarding de-commercialization and three worlds, liberalism welfare regime in countries include U.S.A., Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. The degree of de-commercialization is low. Living guarantee by state is lowest level. The proportion of selective payment accompanying means test is large among total social security payment. Conservative welfare regime features that the degree of de-commodification is middle and national payment are provided as long as family care function and ability to care are burned out. Austria, Germany and France are included. In Social-democracy welfare regime, two systems of universalism and de-commodification seek to strong redistribution for equalization. Scandinavian countries are included.

Social stratification

In addition to de-commercialization, another core factor impacting on three worlds is 'stratification' (Esping-Andersen, 2006, p.55-58). The relationship between citizenship and social stratification have been little known. Work-life balance (gender regime) is also stratified phenomenon (Jang, et al., 2014). In the view of comparing history, there are stratification factors in welfare states. The tradition of poor relief and modern style means test for payment have been designed as social stigma and dual structure of society. Therefore, those policies have been main attack targets by labour movement. Payment based on means test and corporatism social insurance made an alternative universalism system which encourages equal position of people.

Regardless of class, everyone gets similar rights, making solidarity of people. This universalism introduces special class structure. The majority of people are satisfied even with small payment. However, working class became wealthy, the appearance of neo-middle class, creating dual structure, because the upper class started to depend on private insurance and fringe benefits. The countries (Canada and UK) experiencing this process, the equality spirit of universalism is changed to dual structure of social payment countries. That is, poor people depend on government, remaining people depend on market. Actually, all the welfare regime models faced with dilemma of change of class structure. However, responses to economic prosperity and growth of middle class were different, which eventually caused stratification. In short, though clustered country groups represent varied differences, major similarities shared provide fruitful debates such as de-commodification and stratification (Deeming, 2017).

Familialism

In addition to de-commercialization and stratification, Esping-Andersen accepted feminist's critique, and nine years later, he introduced 'familialism': the extent to which families assume social risk or burden (Esping-Andersen 1999, p.51). He referred defamilialism is reducing individual's family dependence and increase individual command of economic resources regardless of family or marriage. That is, it signifies that women's unpaid care work demanding from private area to public area, by expansion of public support including meeting needs of unpaid care work as well as financial assistance. Daly (2000, p.4) who studied reconciliation between paid work and parenting defined de-familialism as "movement of care responsibility from parents to society". Similarly, Leira (2002) pointed out de-familialism should be addressed for supporting 'both working parents', defining de-familialism as guarantee of parents' labour rights by letting parents and other families be free from the care burden (e.g. by establishing good /enough childcare centres, by socialization of care). It is thus important to consider the Confucian culture in Korea and familialism should be explored in depth so that we can understand the huge responsibilities of families within Confucian Korean context. Esping-Anderson (2009) terms this 'the incomplete revolution' (Subtitle: adapting to women's new roles) and it is important to consider how the state treats family support in the making of welfare policies. That book was translated into Korean in 2014, and he wrote about Korea in the book, Korea also started the revolution but it is still rhetorically 'toddler period' (less developed), requiring government's active initiatives. This situation was called 'procrastinated revolution' even at home (Hochschild and Machung, 1989), which has been still continued tradition recently (Hochschild and Machung, 2012).

As shown, Esping-Anderson's research supply a number of evidences and theories still now. However, 'three world' published about 28 years ago, thus there are assertions having a new views in a meaningful way. Deeming (2017) provided new perspective on Esping-Anderson (1990) 's three worlds. To analyze the three worlds in a fruitful way, he focused on liberal countries, mostly speaking English (UK, US, Canada, Australia). He asserts those countries are now neoliberal nations but it is doubt whether it is influential on the three worlds or not, especially across English speaking democracies. In fact, the usage of social science keyword 'neoliberalism' has been dropped since 2014-2015 (Deeming, 2017,p.412). In general, this paper looks like radical assertion, because he concluded it is time to abandon the concept of three worlds. However, his current paper also used the three worlds and gave many useful insights. Therefore, it is needed to look at Esping-Anderson's more various perspectives for developing the theory along with new social changes such as neoliberalism.

According to Esping-Anderson (2009), in the debates about welfare regime, the core is de-familialism. For being happy family, de-familialism should be premised. Government needs to give realistic options to families. In particular, the shortage of good childcare service interferes childbirth (Kohler, 2002). If non-parental childcare service is universally available, father's childcare increased (O'Brien, 2005, p.6). Government should make diverse options from market and state, including adjusting proportion (state vs market), using non-profit organizations, private provider, and voucher (Esping-Anderson, 2009). Though there are a large body of theories about familialism. This part will adopt Leitner's typology which has been broken down by Leitner (2003) as shown table 1.2. She suggested four types of familialism according to the level of familialism and de-familialism indicates no comments and no supports from government. Explicit familialism stresses family's responsibility. Optimal familialism highlights both processes of familialism and de-familialism in terms of support provided from government. As can be seen in table 1.2, Korea belongs to a strongly explicit familialist country sharing many similarities with Southern European and East Asian countries (Esping-Anderson 2014, Lee and Park 2015). Korea is therefore weak in offering state welfare policies that frees people from reliance on family welfare.

Much of the current literature tells us that de-familialism is still far from Korean cases (and other East Asian countries as well), which is deeply connected with cultural context in Korea. Sung and Pascall (2014) discovered many East Asian countries still heavily depend on families and communities and that gender equality issues have been neglected in Confucian East Asia, including in Korea. Although debating gender issues has been weakened in Western countries (Esping Aanderson 2009), in Korea, it is still relevant due to cultural dimensions.

Familialism in Korean welfare regime

Table 1.2 A typology according to the level of familialism and de-familialism

	De-familialism	
	Strong	Weak
Familialism		
Strong	Optional familialism (Germany and France)	Explicit familialism (Korea, Greece, Italy)
Weak	De-familialism (Sweden, Denmark, Finland)	Implicit familialism (UK, USA, Canada)

Source: Reconstructed from Leitner S. (2003, p.358)

Korean economic crisis and welfare state developments

O'Brien (2005) analysed Korean and Japan in terms of sharing caring. She focused on 'gender collaborate approach', father's participation and reconciling work-family balance. The more parents use non-parental childcare, the more fathers participate in childcare. Thus, father's uncooperative attitude is gendered cultural behaviour and thus employers need to expand flexibility of work (O'Brien, 2005). Furthermore, the considerable influences of Confucianism still seem to remain despite key transitions in welfare regime developments since the 1990s. East Asian countries focused on economic growth, welfare matters, especially for families were given less consideration compared to economic issues. In particular Korea faced national bankruptcy as a serious consequence of the economic crisis in 1997. It has been generally considered as the second severest national disaster since the Korean War (1950–1953) (Yi, KS 2011). The Korean government urgently requested a relief loan from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Yi, KS 2011). During the period of reconstruction after the financial calamity, the drawbacks of having a limited developmental welfare regime have brought about secondary challenges intertwined with exposed social problems (Kwon, 2005a). Particularly, it turned out that minimal government intervention was no longer effective for solving the new problems happening to citizens (e.g.

sharply increased unemployment rate). Such a minimal approach to welfare was deeply related to Korea having a strong authoritarian regime during the Park Chung-Hee tenure in 1963-1979 (Shin, DM 2003), which had validity of Confucian tradition in terms of hierarchy between dictator and public. Within this context of monolithic domination, other policy paradigms could not help but follow the process of industrial policy due to the top priority given to economic growth, which has been rhetorically described as the “economy [should come] first and welfare [should come] later” (Kim, HA 2011; Kwon, HJ 2014).

Confucian welfare state in East Asia

Among Welfare providers; state-market-community, state and market are relatively weak. Instead, community (including family) 's role is bigger than other two. It is controversial issues whether State or regime can be used, because level of welfare provision is low in comparison to western welfare states. The results of qualitative analysis is as follows (Hong, GJ, 1999, p.329).

Confucian welfare state tends to national-cultural difference is low, country structure is self-regulating in terms of interest and steak. Individualism is low, collectivism is high. Leftist party's power and labour organization ability weak (the right is relatively strong) (Hong, GJ, 1999).

If state mainly provides social welfare, it is close to traditional western welfare state type. On the other hand, if dependence on market is high, it is welfare underdeveloped country. However, in some countries, state welfare is backward, and dependence on market is not quite big like welfare underdeveloped country. East Asian countries (including Korea) show the features, named 'Confucian welfare state' or 'East Asian welfare state' (Hong, GJ, 1999).

A number of factors of Confucianism are related to discussions about welfare regime, especially gender issues and familialism (Walker and Wong 2005). In this Confucian society, gender perspective on this discussion is quite useful (Song, DY 2012), because numerous women have been regarded as unpaid care provider who played state's role as well (Ma and Lee, 2007). It is

common (problematic) reality which should be improved by social policies (Hudson and Hwang 2013).

In this way, Confucianism irreplaceable concept impacting on East Asia's all sectors such as state, market, family, economy, politics and religion. Notably, Walker and Wong (2005) conceptualized Korea as a 'Confucian welfare state' in order to emphasize passive governmental actions and strong reliance on the family in East Asian countries. Government has merely taken minimal actions for family matters, which ultimately ended up with residual welfare provisions. They examined Korea, China, Hongkong, Japan Taiwan and Singapore (Walker and Wong, 2005). They contributed to encouraging the debates about Confucian welfare regime.

Confucianism frequently appears in varied topics such as 'Confucianism' and 'Industrialization'(Kwon 1998 cited by Walker and Wong 2005). For example, Confucianism encourages strong leadership, which had led fast industrialization and economic growth in East Asia. This kind of sentence emphasis on Confucianism is a unique characteristic strongly impacting on state, society, individual, and family. Thus, although Confucianism is regarded as cultural context, which cannot be examined by analysis of actual proof. The unique characteristics of a 'Confucian welfare state' compared to the other welfare regime typologies are conservative corporatism without workers' participation, principle of subsidiarity without church, association without equality, and the principle of laissez-faire without libertarianism (Jones 1993 cited in Kim, YM. 2013). Despite economic growth and welfare development, East Asian countries named 'East Asian exceptionalism' in order to arrange differently from Western welfare regimes (Peng and Wong, 2010 cited in Kim, YM 2013). This exceptionalism comes from Esping-Anderson (1990,1999) in that separate East Asian countries to mixed system of liberalism and conservative regime (without own regime). Confucianism represents the exceptionalism.

According to Sung, SR (2003) who interviewed 40 working women, Confucian culture impacts on formation of not only gender regime but also welfare regime in Korea. To cope with their difficulties, interviewees had own strategies such as rearrangement of working time. Sung, SR (2003, p.356) argued "Confucian welfare regime is deeply gendered. It is too strong to women responsible for unpaid care work" In general, though the Confucian welfare regime has moved to more egalitarian direction like other East Asian countries (Sung, SR 2003), how far it has been closed to Western developed regimes is questionable yet. Recently, Korean scholars used the term 'welfare state' in Korea. Welfare debate has always brought various discussions, so there will be new welfare issues (Nam, CS, 2011). Her recent book, Sung, SR (2014), also deals with Confucianism. In this book, Sung and Pascall (2014) explained unique features of Korea as a Confucian country.

However, several scholars denied any form of Esping-Anderson's welfare typology in Korea and other East Asian countries. That is, they assert Korea belongs to one of the typology(now or future), such as liberalism (Cho,YH, 2001; Chang, KS 2018; Park, SJ 2016 and 2017; Sim, SY,2013;Jung and Yang, 2012), corporatism(Sim, CH 2004), conservative (Nam, CS 2011; Cho, YH 2014; Lee and Ku 2007;Kim, ER 2006), and social democracy (Jang, GS, 2011). Cho,YH (2001) argued that East Asian countries show different facets from Western countries. Nevertheless, Korean case can be explained by mix type of liberalism and conservative regime. However, he concluded Korea is finally classified into liberalism. Cho,YH (2001) highlighted if Confucianism exists, it is impossible to provide welfare services like three worlds that cannot reflect own and traditional characteristics of East Asian nations. In family crisis' era now, 'socialization of social reproduction' seems to be unavoidable minimum choice, which might be the most appropriate for applying social democracy regime into Korea (Jang, GS 2011). In order to become the welfare state, citizens' political power of execution is required. Though Sim, SY (2013) discovered Korea is not appropriate for conservative regime, he concluded liberalism will be a future model of Korea. Korea can be grouped with Japan and U.S.A. and show small income security, underdeveloped Active labour market programmes (ALMPs), and underdeveloped gender and childcare friendly policies. Gender and childcare are both important issues for studying gendered Confucian culture. This issues will be explained and show in the remaining chapters. Next, the relationship between three worlds and Korea is discussed.

Three worlds and Korea

Korea and East Asian countries (except for Japan) do not belong to any typology of three worlds yet. Or, Kim YM (2002) asserted Korean regime evenly have the characteristics of all the three worlds. Nevertheless, many researchers tried analysis of actual proofs in order to find similarities, differences and implications for Korean welfare (Sim, CH, 2004).Considering clear limitations of original welfare typology, Chang, KS (2011) suggested 'family liberalism' which focused on a range of social risks emerged in Korea, such as population collapse sign (too low fertility rate), avoiding marriage, divorce, and suicide. To recover population, family liberalism politics-economy and total reform of social policy system. Like those scholars who proposed alternative paradigm, Park, SJ (2016 and 2017) offered 'new liberalism' which seeks to public concern and connection between individual and community (Park, SJ, 2016). He focused on UK case in the late 18th century in order to improve current Korea's social problems like poverty. Park, SJ, (2017) suggested again, 'neo liberalism' which can be alternative of new liberalism. Neo liberalism examine 'new liberalism' in late nineteenth century in UK. By applying UK case into Korea, social risks, for example, unstable labour, structural violence, and gap between the rich and poor will be resolved (Park, SJ, 2017).In general, Korea looks close to liberalism model, which very different from conservative and social-

democratic model. Nonetheless, original liberalism is difficult to be employed in Korean case, which make scholars look for alternative models like family liberalism, and new/neo liberalism.

Other Korean researchers who analysed three worlds discovered some characteristics of Korea, which can be classified into Conservative regime. Like Esping-Anderson (1999), Nam, CS (2002) analysed de-commodification, stratification, influence of state and market, and familialism. As a result, de-commodification was similar with southern Europe (low-middle level), and conservative stratification, higher proportion of market than state, and strong familialism were discovered. Although he asserted general results show conservative typology, market's large proportion and low de-commodification were opposite features to conservative regime. Kim, YM (2013) expected Korea is situated at early stage for being welfare state. If the typology of three worlds emerges in Korea, based on immature conservative regime, features of liberalism will be mixed (Kim, YM, 2013). Southern European countries have many similarities with Korea; welfare dividing (e.g. extreme discrimination between regular worker and temporary worker), women's low participation in labour market, low fertility rate and aging and so on. Those problems should be resolved universal approach by providing fair payment from government.

Universal welfare regime

Despite East Asian exceptionalism, in East Asian countries including Korea, universal welfare system has been strengthened since 2000s (Peng and Wong 2010 cited in Kim, YM, 2013). In Korea, research about welfare state show two trends according to periods. In 2000s, there are many studies about East Asian welfare model (Confucianism and developmentalism) and possibility for classification like Esping-Anderson (1990). After that, universalism welfare has been noticeable research topic since 2010s, focusing on case studies(needs and provision) and future direction of welfare strategy for making more egalitarian society. If universal welfare regime is defined as providing social welfare payment to whole population, only Western developed welfare states and Japan can be included. Like this, universal welfare regime should get ready industrialization, accumulating wealth, and democratic political system (Kim, YM, 2013). In welfare approach, the principle of universalism is universal protection from social risk.

Universalism can harmoniously manage selectivism and residualism rather than abolishing or conflicting with the systems (Kwon et al., 2012). However, before debates, Lee, TS (2016) pointed out there should be agreed definitions of the concepts; universalism, selectivism, universal welfare and selective welfare. In Korea, 0-5 years old children can use nursery (school) for free. This is a representative universal welfare service. However, about working mothers, gendered issues are controversial due to low mothers' employment and lowest-low fertility rate. Free nursery service is concerned with political issues (section 1.5). Lee, TS (2016) asserted enough debates about universal welfare and forewarn a thinking universal welfare=free welfare

service=something for nothing, because universal welfare has various inside types. That is, free nursery service also has complex issues related to allotment or delivery system, which require many discussions. Free nursery service quickly introduced due to general election, which opened policy window to the minute(Section 1.5). Hence, the service requires more discussions.

Developmental welfare regime

The pre-condition of welfare state development is welfare politics (Lee, TS, 2016). In Korea, Social policy and social welfare were developed as mere instruments or political strategies for supporting the success of economic development as soon as possible (Holliday, 2000; Kwon, 2005a). This phenomenon has been deemed the most dominant feature throughout East Asia and defined as a new “developmental welfare state” (Kwon, 2005a). Lee and Ku (2007) found many social problems(e.g. gender wage gap, social security expenditure, stratification) in developmental Korea, which can be partly seen as examples of liberalism and conservative regime. However, they could not find any similarities with Esping-Anderson’s social democratic regime. On the other hand, Jang, GS (2011) who rendered developmental liberalism in Korea suggested social democratic regime as useful alternative for reform of Korea in crisis. The financial crisis in 1997, provoked requirements for reforming this policy paradigm (Kwon, HJ 2014). In addition, the government had to cope with not only chronic social risks (e.g. unemployment, industrial accident) but also new social risks (e.g. low fertility rate and aging) (Nam, CS, 2011). In Korea, developmentalism (with neo-liberalism and regulatory system) has been strong till now (Hong, ST, 2018). Developmental state (Korea) combined with developmental family had maintained dangerous social reproduction system, called ‘functional overloading’ (Jang, GS, 2011). The Korean government¹¹ accordingly took the prompt action.

Welfare reforms

Reform of welfare occurred during the progressive regimes of the Korean President Kim Dae-Joong (1998–2003) and President Roh-Moo Hyun¹² (2003–2008). Among the reforms, public expenditure is noticeable. Social expenditure is a cash benefits or payment for goods and services (e.g. free childcare service at nursery). It is the provision or benefits for families (households) or individual (OECD, 2003). Meanwhile, during those ten years, public welfare expenditure for families (to GDP ratio) was noticeably raised, showing the increase from 2.7 per cent in 1990 to 10.4 per cent in 2017 (OECD, 2017). Significant changes in the welfare regime were made in the late 1990s from sticking to the growth-first doctrine of the past (1960s–1980s) to addressing the distribution of welfare, especially in three areas of social security systems; social insurance, public

¹¹ Kim, Dae Joong, February 25, 1998 – February 25, 2003 (Presidential term)

¹² Roh-Moo Hyun February 25, 2003 – February 24, 2008 (Presidential term)

assistance, and social services (Kim, YM 2008). Therefore, the economic crisis served as a driver for welfare reform in Korea so that the government could deal with the newly emerging social problems. The development of democracy was another main driver which encouraged readjustment of social policy (Haggard and Kaufman, 2008). All the processes including development and crisis have been made quickly, showing 'compressed modernity' (Jang GS, 2012).

Even though economic development under the authoritarian regimes (1961-1987) had seriously limited the political opportunities, economic prosperity inspired people to desire their own citizenship. They wanted to establish democratically elected state leaders (Chang, KS 2012). The democratization of politics has been finally realized by the June Democracy movement in 1987, which succeeded in the constitutional reform for implementing a direct presidential election system (Choi and Kim, 2012). Around the same period, democratization emerged in the era of post-industrialism throughout East Asian countries, which facilitated novel transitions in social policy regimes (Peng and Wong, 2010). This change brought a public arena for reflecting opinions of citizens and policy entrepreneurs for initiating welfare policies (Fiori and Kim, 2011). Thus, the democratization process contributed to the progress of the welfare state as a crucial social movement (Hong and Song, 2006). Notably, the participatory democracy facilitated the women's movement which contributed to improving family policy, gender policy, and childcare policies (Kim and Kim, 2011) of direct concern to working mothers (family policies will be discussed in detail later).

Another primary factor influencing developing welfare systems in East Asian countries was 'the spread of globalization' in the international context (Gough, 2001). Globalization promoted worldwide connections in governance, economy, and culture, which influenced on developing welfare systems in East Asian countries (Gough, 2001). In Korea, becoming an OECD member in 1996 was the crucial starting point for encouraging globalization (Hong and Song, 2006). The Korean government encountered international pressures stressing egalitarian values from selective welfare provisions towards a more universal and comprehensive welfare system (Kwon, 2005b). Due to the globalized situation, the Korean government has started to reconsider 'inclusiveness of outsiders' (rather than selectivity) as a way of social protection (Peng and Wong, 2010). It shows meaningful manifestations of the Korean welfare transition into a more Westernized welfare model (Kim, YM 2008).

As part of the transition to a welfare model and to labour market policy regimes are important. Employment protection and unemployment protection are representative policy tools for protecting employees from risks in labour market and regulation systems. Importantly, EPL (employment protection legislation) protects workers from dismissal (Sapir 2006). Regarding the risk like a dismissal, since neo-liberalism has influenced politics, economy, and society,

considerable existing active actions has been merely instrumental action in US and Australia, and Korea is following that flow. For example, Hudson and Kühner's (2009) research study aimed 'to offer a classification of welfare state types that encompasses both the protective and productive dimensions of social policy. They argued that Esping-Anderson's welfare states typologies have only focused on 'protective' factors (e.g. employment protection). In their comparative research, they used fuzzy set analysis and added in factors such as education investment and job training investment as the productive dimensions of policy. Their results showed that whilst Korea had high employment protection levels, income protection was low. Korea was therefore classified into a 'Weak productive-protective type' along with Greece, Ireland, Switzerland, Italy. Hence, they revealed that regardless of socio-cultural influences, their analytical framework was useful for understanding the need for greater social investment and social protection policies.

Hudson and Kühner's (2009) analysis is strengthened further when considering critiques of specific policies. Even though the Korean new welfare regime has since stressed increasing public services and has moved towards a more universal model of provision (Kwon, HJ 2014), Or some research show universal model in Korea needs enough time to regulate (Yoon, HS 2011; Kim, YM 2011). It is argued the relevant policies still tend to focus on selective welfare provisions such as supporting vulnerable families (e.g. low-income family) rather than increasing universal services (Yoon, HS et al., 2011). Also, Kwon, HJ (2014) asserted that Korea has not yet become a welfare state, because recipients of public assistance account for only half of the population. In 2014, public social expenditure in Korea was 10.4 per cent of GDP, about half of OECD average of 21 per cent (OECD, 2016c) and also 10.4 per cent in 2017 and 21 per cent on OECD average as well. The simple comparison with OECD data is not quite accurate due to diverse variables across nations (e.g. GDP, tax rates). Or public attitudes towards welfare spending (Lee and Hwang 2016). This result tends to show the necessity of increasing the public expenditure in order to become a welfare state (Jang, Shin and Park, 2014). According to Yang, SI (2013), although provinces are different by degree, Korea reached the stage from selectivity to universalism. Cho, NG (2013) pointed out the importance of welfare attitudes and cultural dimension/approach, which has been neglected in welfare studies so far.

Government initiatives and current policies however, have developed since these critiques around 2014. Most specifically, the labour market policies include employment protection, unemployment protection, and active labour market policies (ALMPs). Developments have been made in protective policies that support the employment of individuals and provide some insurance against unemployment. There are currently two Acts regulating employers; one, to provide good working conditions; two, to provide a range of protections and income guarantees. The Labour Standard Act (2017) sets the standard of labour conditions according to the constitution. The act aims to guarantee and improve basic life level, which have targets for

developing national economy. Employment Insurance Act (2016) aims at prevention of unemployment, encouraging employment, increasing worker's job capacity, strengthening government's job guidance and job introduction. After leaving the labour market, this law financially supports people providing necessary living cost and encourages job seeking so that beneficiaries will contribute to development of the economy and society. Whether these labour market based policy improvements move Korea towards a more advanced universal welfare state regime remains to be seen, and is beyond the scope of this thesis. These new policies have certainly arisen after the time this thesis started to investigate the problems faced by working mothers (2014 to 2016) and so has the development of family based work-life balance policies that support female employment.

1.4 Family Policies

Regarding promoting family policies, Esping-Anderson (2009) asserted that reconciling motherhood and employment should be the central approach. Especially, important policy therefore is childcare provision. Yet there has been a high reliance on family care, due not only to an underdeveloped transition to welfare state (as described above) but also related to the value of familism (Yoon, HS 2012). Korea has been typically characterized as a family-oriented welfare country, producing gender-biased parental rights and labour rights (Lee, DS 2013). Within these restricted circumstances, family and market have revealed limitations on suggesting alternatives for resolving childcare matters, which has been referred to as one of the 'new social risks' (Park, EH 2013) and a main reason for discouraging female labour force participation. Extending public support based on de-familism is required for unburdening parental childcare responsibilities (Esping-Anderson 2009), which has been crucially regarded as important for dealing with the low fertility rate in Korea. Yet, the Korean welfare regime still seems to be characterized by a weak welfare state, strong familism and residual welfare provision. In order to overcome this situation, many studies have reviewed policies and arrived at the same (or similar) conclusions.

Need for policy improvements

Many studies have pointed out the reality of limited policy enforcement and suggest improvements. Relevant surveys have reported that the Korean working environment seems far from being child-friendly, especially with regards to the usage of parental leave which represents how far the organizations protect maternal rights (Yoon and Hong, 2014), though this could vary according to business areas. Korea Employment Information Service (henceforth, KEIS) (2014) reported the positive relationship between the number of female employees in an organisation and the rate of using parental leave. Clearly, female-dominated industry (e.g. health service or social welfare field) showed friendly atmosphere to using parental leave. After returning to jobs

(finishing maternity leave), those industries also presented longer job retention despite the generally lower salary than other competitive jobs (e.g. professional job) because of childcare-friendly environment. KEIS (2014) suggested typical examples of non-childcare friendly organizations were characterized by intense workload, long working hours, and unfair disadvantages (e.g. promotion), which seem to make many mother-workers involuntarily leave the labour market.

Long working hours

Long working hours are known to decrease satisfaction with work-life balance, which was evident among female workers with preschool children (Park, JS et al., 2014). Yoon and Im (2014) investigated employees' recognition of positive and negative factors impacting on their work-life balance. It turned out that most factors (59%) were time-related elements. Of these, long working hours and office dinners after work were the main negative factors for their family life, which reflected how a male-dominated culture still remained in workplaces (Yoon and Im 2014). Similarly, in KWDI'(Korea Women Development Institute)'s annual panel study, female respondents said long working hours (32%) and irregular working schedules (21%) negatively influenced family life, although most respondents (81%) thought engaging in paid work was a positive factor in a better family life (Joo, JS 2014).

Long working hours are closely related to overtime. Like the average work week, the amount of work involving overtime has decreased from 40 per cent (1998) to 27.9 per cent (2013) (Lee, GY et al., 2015). However, another study has reported that 57.1 per cent of female employees regularly worked 6.7 hours of overtime and 3.6 days per week (Kim, JS and Kim, NJ 2013). In other words, there was an average of 1.5 overtime hours each day. According to Korea Occupational Safety and Health Agency (henceforth, KOSHA) (2011), female employees whose youngest child was less than six years of age worked 6.01 days of overtime per month, which was not that different from unmarried female employees without any children (7.31 days per month). Korea's culture of long working hours thus needs to be changed. Reducing the number of working hours should be a priority (Park, SY et al., 2014; Yeo, YJ et al., 2014; Kim and Kim, 2018), because they are the main causes of work-life conflicts and career-break. Closely related to long hours is the idea of flexibility in work hours.

Flexibility in working hours

In terms of flexibility in working hours, time is the single most important impediment to family life and childcare. For working mothers, daily working hours were much more influential than weekly working hours (Yoon and Im, 2014). Thus, policy makers need to be attentive to the daily experiences of the working mothers, focusing on their family childcare responsibilities at home

after work. Yoon and Im (2014) asserted that policies need to limit the excess of standard working hours in order to restore the balance between work and family life. For this, policy makers need to consider the balance between the demand for paid work, unpaid care work, and leisure. Yoon and Im (2014) also claimed that policy improvements should lead to cultural improvements in order to guarantee enough time for childcare, family life, and personal life.

KOSHA is an agency responsible for employee's work safety. They investigate female workers responsible for childcare, in particular, flexibility. In relation to this survey evidence has shown 70.9 per cent of female employees whose youngest child was younger than six answered that flexible working hours was not allowed at all (unmarried female employees without any child: 73%) (KOSHA, 2011). In this respect, 48 per cent of them answered it is hard to obtain permission to leave the office for two hours to attend to a family matter (unmarried female employees without a child: 51%) (KOSHA, 2011). Therefore, 25 per cent of them responded their working hours are not conducive to managing family life and personal life (unmarried female employees without a child: 22%) (KOSHA, 2011). These results showed an inflexible working environment which rarely permitted flexibility whether they were mothers of young children or not. The need for better family friendly policies is evident, especially to expand the workday's flexibility. Evidence shows that mothers of young children are more likely to want to reduce their working hours despite loss of earnings rather than giving up their jobs entirely (Choi, HM 2014; Yoon and Im, 2014). Since the 40-hour workweek reflects the male norm, breaking the norm by increasing flexibility and reducing the standard workweek would contribute to overcoming gendered working conditions (Yoon and Im, 2014). The flexibility can be realized either by implementing selective/flexible working times (the Labour Standards Act, 2019) or by increasing the number of part-time jobs. Though the number of part-time job tends to be limited in Korea, they are more flexible than full-time jobs. If there are enough part-time jobs, the flexicurity keeping balance between flexibility and security should be ensured for the sake of employment stability (Klammer, 2004), because flexible part-time jobs still tend to be temporary and low paid (Yeo, YJ et al., 2014). This approach would reduce mothers' career-break and support working mothers instead.

Finally, the government also needs not only to reinforce the regulations but also to promote incentive systems. They should encourage a childcare-friendly workplace culture (Yeo, YJ et al., 2014). Especially, the government should take more action on private companies (small firms), because many of these employers have avoided providing the policy benefits to employees (Joo, JS 2014; Kim, Lee, and Choi 2014). Small organizations employing fewer than five workers were out of law boundary ('blind spot' in policy provisions), which have incurred unreasonable treatments especially for female workers such as outstanding maternity benefits (Park, SY et al., 2014). Thus, there should be a redesign of policy targets in order to deliver services to the people

who want them. It is also should be ascertained whether policies would guarantee maternal rights for such as qualitative survey on actual usage of parental leave and the reasons for the low usage. Likewise, in terms of childcare support, the policy coverage should be expanded. For instance, even though working mothers were less likely to be hired by major companies, the Childcare Act limits the obligations to large-scale enterprises (Kim, JH 2013; Kim, Lee and Choi, 2014) in terms of establishing workplace nursery well-know n for high quality (Seo,HJ, 2017). In conclusion, policy makers need to improve provisions. Accordingly, family, gender, and childcare policies have been rapidly amended in the hope of creating work-life balance (Kim, Lee and Choi, 2014).

Family friendly policies

The OECD (2007) defined ‘family-friendly policies’ in a broad sense-which includes those relating to achieving a work-life balance (flexible employment options for example), childcare services, and gender equality measures. This includes family-friendly workplace practices used especially for protecting labour rights of female employees with dependent children, such as maternity and parental leave (Hwang, 2018). Such leave systems have been regarded as the most important index to assess how far polices are supportive of work-life balance (Kim, JW, 2009). Since the policy critiques on wok-life balance issues (described above) were made in 2014, the Korean government has heavily invested in parental leave and childcare policies.

Childcare policy investments

The public expenditure for childcare, family and women (classified as one category of welfare expenditure) amounted to 4.7 per cent of the total national budget in 2018 (4.6% in 2017) (Ministry of Strategy and Finance, 2018). It showed the largest increase (26.5%) from 2013 to 2014 and increased 13.7 per cent again from 2017 to 2018 (Ministry of Strategy and Finance, 2018). The government significantly increased the budget for the expansion of public day nurseries (9.3%), raising the salary for nursery teachers (9.5%) and expanding i-dolbom service (24.9%) year on year. In 2018, Korean government has appropriated increasing the budget in order to encourage female employment (supporting dual-earner families) and fertility by improving the quality of childcare environment (Ministry of Strategy and Finance 2018). As a result Information on childcare services is developed (in detail in chapter 3), for now we discuss the parental leave systems have also been improved to help work-life balance.

Maternity, Paternity and parental leave

The Labour Standard Act (2017¹³) aims to “establish the standards for terms and conditions of employment in conformity with the Constitution, thereby securing and improving the fundamental living standards of workers and achieving a well-balanced development of the national economy”. It is under this Act that maternity leave provisions lie. Maternity leave means “job-protected leave of absence for employed women prior to and after child birth” (OECD, 2016i). Korean female workers can have 90 days of maternity leave (Article 74 of Labour Standard Act, 2017¹⁴) and the first 60 days are paid leave. The length of maternity leave (12.9 weeks) in Korea is slightly shorter than ILO recommendation (no. 183); 14 weeks (International Labour Organization, 2000) and OECD average; 19.1 weeks (OECD, 2016j). The number of employees who used maternity leave has dramatically increased over the ten years from 38,541 in 2004 to 88,765 in 2014 (Korean Educational Insurance Service, 2015) (KEIS, henceforth). Whilst maternity leave falls under labour standard legislation, paternity and parental leave are covered under the Act on Equal Employment and Support for Work-Family Reconciliation’ (2019). This¹⁵ act aims to “contribute not only to realizing equal employment for both genders by guaranteeing equal opportunities and treatment in employment between men and women in accordance with the principle of equality proclaimed in the Constitution of the Republic of Korea, by protecting motherhood, and by promoting the employment of women, but also to improving the quality of all the people's lives by assisting work-family balance of workers”.

Regarding paternity leave, fathers can request three to five days of paid leave according to article 18-2 of ‘Act on Equal Employment and Support for Work-Family Reconciliation’ (2019). Parental leave (sometimes also called childcare leave) refers to “employment-protected leave of absence for supporting childrearing of employed parents (both fathers and mother)” (OECD, 2016i). According to article 19 of the Equal Employment and Support for Work-Family Reconciliation Act, employees who rear children attending the second year of primary school or younger (including 8 years and younger children than 8) can request the leave up to 1 year. Article 19-3 prohibits employers from discriminating against employees who use the system and employees should return to the same position or the same wage level after the leave (Article 19-4).

The length of parental leave (52weeks) however is still shorter than OECD average; 65.7 weeks (OECD, 2016j) and it turned out the actual period of using the leave was even less at 42 weeks on average (KEIS, 2014). Employees eligible for taking parental leave can request reduction in working hours during some periods in the parental leave. They can reduce working hours from 15 hours up to 30 hours per week. Since this system is basically in line with putting childcare leave into practice (e.g. reducing working hours instead of taking the leave), the entire period of using

¹³ https://elaw.klri.re.kr/kor_service/lawView.do?hseq=31900&lang=ENG Since national law in English tends to be out of date, I read the English version and partly cited just for reference, checking Korean new version.

¹⁴ Enforcement year after last revision

¹⁵ https://elaw.klri.re.kr/kor_service/lawView.do?hseq=37613&lang=ENG

either of those shall not exceed one year. Among the workers taking maternity leave, the proportion using parental leave has noticeably increased from 19 per cent (2004) to 46 per cent (2013) (KEIS, 2014). However, it also means that about half of mothers still did not use the leave and the fathers still rarely used the parental leave (3.3%) (KEIS, 2014), which could be related to the wage cut. During the parental leave period, employees shall receive 40 per cent of their monthly salary, which shall not exceed about £580 and shall not be less than about £290. Since the actual amount paid is too low to afford living costs, it has been the main reason of low usage rate by mothers as well as fathers (Jang, Shin, and Park, 2014). We now move to consider other policies helping to support mothers' employment.

Other family-friendly policies

The Labour Standards Act (2020¹⁶) implemented two work-time systems for supporting work-life balance especially for employees rearing children (Yoon and Im 2014). Article 51 states the system of flexible working hours which allows employees to extend or reduce working hours on a day or in a week as long as working hours do not exceed 48 hours a week. For instance, an employee can split working days either working 7 hours on Monday or working 9 hours on Friday according to volume of work instead of working 8 hours every day. Article 52 specifies the system of selective working hour which allows employees to select what time they begin and finish work within the daily/weekly work hours. For instance, an employee can adjust working time from 09.00-18.00 to 08.00-17.00. Regarding the usage rate, it is meaningful to look at differences by gender. In terms of the system of flexible working hours, 23 per cent of male employees used the system, and 18.9 per cent of female employees did. Concerning the system of selective working hour, much more women (32.9%) used the system than men (24.5%). In addition, statistics on marital status showed little difference yet you would expect married employees (who are more likely to have children) to have made greater use of this provision. But only 20.8 per cent of married employees used the flexible working hours and 27.7 per cent used selective working hours, which demonstrates low levels of availability similar to the usage rate of unmarried employees (21.7% and 31.5% respectively) (Statistics Korea, 2015e).

Meanwhile, regarding common provisions for all workers, the Labour Standards Act (2020) stipulated overtime to be limited to 28 hours per week, if there was agreement between employer and employee, and this was later reduced further to 12 hours. In terms of the overtime rules for maternity protection, the Labour Standards Act (2017) regulates that employers shall not put female employees (in particular, pregnant worker) to work between 22.00 and 6.00 or holidays without consent (article 70). Especially, if women who gave birth less than one year ago

¹⁶ This act revise this year and enforcement date will be next year (2020). Since this thesis writes the act number n the basis of enforcement date, the year of 2020 had to be written.

shall not do overtime more than 2 hours per day, and 6 hours per week (article 71). In addition, the basic working week was reduced for all workers, from 48 to 40 hours per week, meaning total working hours have been reduced from 68 hours to 52 hours since 2018.

The Act on Equal Employment and Support for Work-Family Reconciliation (2019) encourages practical welfare provisions for the employees raising young children aged less than 8 years old by the enforcement of the work-time systems (noted above), regulating overtime (noted above), and in taking actions for supporting childcare. Under article 21, it provides for the establishment of a 'workplace day nursery' by employers in businesses employing more than 500 regular employees or 300 female employees. Alternatively, employers can establish provision jointly in cooperation with other employers or local nurseries in the same community. The Childcare Act (2020¹⁷) specifies the responsibilities and requirements of 'workplace day nursery' (article 14) as it aims to "contribute to promoting the welfare of infants and their families by fostering infants to healthy members of the society by nurturing their minds and bodies, and their sound education, and by facilitating their guardians' economic and social activities."

Whilst long working hours are typical phenomenon in Korean companies, it has gradually improved over the last decade. According to Korea Labour Panel Study (Lee, GY et al., 2015), the average weekly working hours have been reduced from 52.3 hours (1998) to 45.1 hours (2012). Nonetheless, OECD (2018a) revealed that Korean workers worked 2069 annual hours on average (third longest among OECD countries), which was much higher than OECD average (1763 hours in 2016) (OECD 2018a). In particular, Korean female workers (paid and dependent employment) had quite long working hours per week (41.9 hours) (Lee, GY et al., 2015), in comparison to, female workers of OECD countries (average: 33.4 hours) (OECD, 2016h).

Overall, as we can be seen from the policy developments described above, the Korean government has heavily invested in parental leave and childcare policies. Along with active labour-market policy (ALMP), those movements for work-life balance seem to reflect the Korean government's attempt to cope with new social risks by expanding social investments (Kim, KS et al., 2010). New social risks tend to appear in the process of deindustrialization, including unstable employment or a lack of care providers for children or the elderly (instead of families) (Jang, Shin, and Park, 2014). They discovered that if childcare provision can replace maternal care in quality and quantity, the expansion of quality childcare will increase not only mothers' labour force participation but also the fertility rate. This view is matched with government concerns and current policies have focused on increasing those two figures (employment and fertility). In terms of welfare state developments and the possible inhibiting factors however, another question to

¹⁷ This act is also enforced next year (2020) like Labour standard Act (2020).

consider is how the actual policy making process has impacted on some of the family friendly policy developments.

1.5 Understanding policy process and practice in Korea

Policy makers focus on policy aims which reflect their efforts to accomplish desirable society. The policy is a key note that authoritative government agency formally adopts (Jung, JG 2010:3). In other words, policies aim to resolve social problems. For this, means of policy are required, which tend to cause conflicts among stakeholders, because the means directly impact on life of people as well as interests of stakeholders (Jung, JG 2010, p.43). Sabatier and Mazmanian (1980) implemented public policy for a framework analysis when legislative statute was ignored. The concept of policy is quite complex, inter-contradiction, and contradiction to simply define. Above all, the relationship between policy aims and means of policy are complex. Most policies tend to emerge from political concerns and whether it will succeed or not depend on interests and public supports.

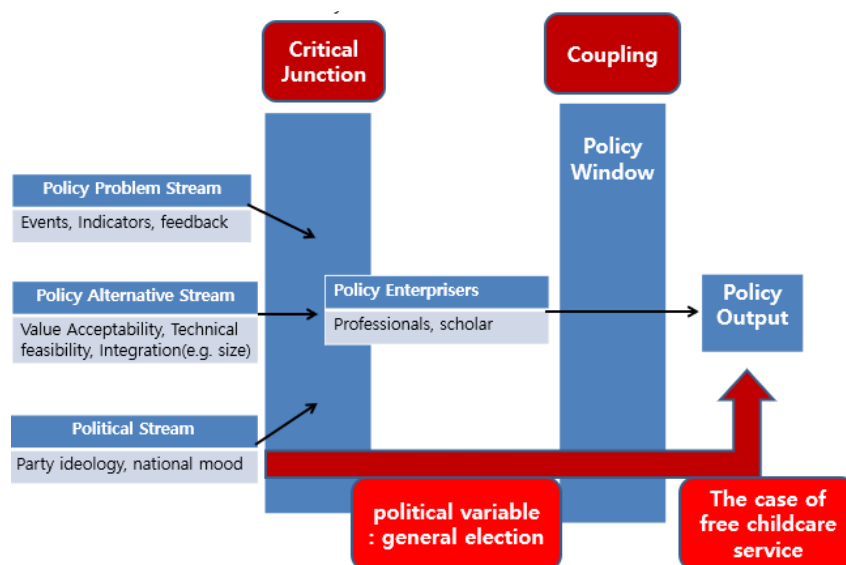
In Korean literature, the most frequently employed policy analysis frameworks could be classified into four models. The four models are as follows: Sabatier's (1980) 'ACF' (Advocacy Coalition Framework), 'A Garbage Can Model' by Cohen, March, and Olsen (1972), 'Agenda building' by Cobb and Elder (1971) and Kingdon (1984)'s Policy stream model. These were often applied not only in the recent Korean journal articles but also in the up-to-date text books, such as named 'Introduction to Policy Studies' or 'Principles of Policy Studies'. Their frameworks have been employed into Korean cases by applying one or combining two /three models. Of these, the 'framework of policy stream model' will be briefly introduced.

Kingdon: Policy stream model.

Policy stream model has been expanded and developed from garbage can model (Cohen, March, and Olsen 1972), which show how specific problems become social issues and which factors influence on the policy agenda setting (Noh, HJ 2009). While this model premised anarchy and highly unstable situations, Kingdon concentrated on the context of realistic politics and the crucial factors impacting on policy-making process (e.g. national mood, organized political forces). The three-stream policy window model addresses that problem stream, policy stream, and politics stream go along independently; these are coupled through opening policy window (Lee YJ, 2011).

As shown in chart 1.1, policy problem stream includes focusing events, statistical indicators, crisis and feedback for policy improvements. Above all, people concerned with policy need to pay attention to improving the situations. This recognition is more important factor than any others such as indicator or event. Policy alternatives are investigated by various ways, for example, conducting a hearing, making a report, and opening a debate. In this process, technical feasibility, value, and acceptability are crucially considered (Song and Kim 2008). More to the point, the process is highlighted from many ideas to specific and proper ideas rather than selecting a desired alternative itself. The process tends to involve a long-term evolutionary process. Political stream is influenced by national mood, public opinion, election, change of government, and interest group's activities. While policy alternative stream stresses on persuasion process, political stream addresses negotiation that features policy agenda can be suddenly set or put off. Especially, change of government or changed power of parliament (e.g. after general election) play important roles in changing main policy participants. Policy agenda building tends to depend on whether public opinions support the policy or not.

Chart 1.3 Basic structure of policy stream framework



Source: Reconstructed from Joo, JH (2016) P. 259

Policy Stream Framework (PSF)

PSF denies existing frameworks and asserts each policy stream is nearly independent (Joo, JH, 2016 p.258-261). When each stream is coupling and then pass the policy window opened. In chapter 1.1, three boxes in left side are each policy problem study, policy alternative stream, and political stream. In the middle of the boxes, there is policy professionals or scholar. This framework will be explained in order to effectively address the process. In policy problem stream, policy maker or government officials should carefully define the problems. They need to recognize situation by change of main index, crisis, causing accidents, a reflux. Kingdon claimed all the situations are not problematic, but when interpretive factor's involvement can become problem. In other words, to become policy problem, social situation itself is not enough. Relevant officials need to seriously recognize as a problem.

Second stream is policy alternative stream. Policy alternatives are investigated by various ways, for example, conducting a hearing, making a report, and opening a debate. In this process, technical feasibility, value, and acceptability are crucially considered (Song and Kim 2008). A range of policy alternatives narrow down a few of realistic alternatives. Policy community, interest groups, and policy entrepreneur participate in the stream and they are all researcher or specialists. These entrepreneurs are different from policy professionals in that they use various ways not only within the frame of official policy process but also outside the process (Choi and Park 2012). They form a community and study and create possible alternatives. Third stream is politics, that is, political accident happened. This emergence of political problem separately appeared from problems or alternatives. However, it plays most important role in comparison to problem or alternative. This stream is dynamic, involving change of public opinion, interest group's activities, change of administration and change of parliamentary seat. Especially, the change of parliament or administration brings new major policy makers who will change the stream and policy agenda (Choi and Park 2012). These streams independently flow finally open the policy window and then policy output is possible.

Policy window

Opening the policy window means policy participants supporting specific policies got the opportunity for changing policy fitted with their interests (Yang SI, 2014 cited by Joo, JH, 2016, p.260). The window never be opened for a long time, the need to wait for opening again next window opened. When the window is closed is 1) the problem was sufficiently dealt with, 2) government's no interest, 3) the accident opened the window remained at the window 4) personnel changes 5) no alternative for problem. Policy window can be opened in both situations of predictable and/or unpredictable. Predictable situations include judging bill, budget

deliberation, re-examination of policy due to the expiration of the term in parliament (Joo, JH, 2016). On the other hand, unpredictable situations contain sudden occurrence of social events, changed power of parliament owing to election, and change of government. It is likely that the opened window tends to quickly pass; policy entrepreneurs need to prepare for alternatives in advance. If they miss the policy window, they should wait for uncertain next opportunity. Among the three streams, it is most likely to open the window by political stream such as Nuri-curriculum in Korea.

Policy output: free childcare service (Nuri-curriculum)

This part will introduce a Korean case which has been started to be provided by political stream. It is needed to define the concept of free childcare service. According to Ministry of Health and Welfare (2018), free childcare service means that government pay childcare fee so that pre-school children are able to use childcare institutions for free. Now, the beneficiaries include infants as well as three to five years old children, which means all the pre-school aged children benefit free childcare service from (local) government. This supply importantly has contributed to raising public concern, which could be called 'revolution' in terms of universal welfare service (Lee, JS and Lee, SG 2013). Chapter three will explain about free childcare service in detail.

Free childcare service and Policy stream model

Kim and Hyun (2014) employed Kingdon's multiple stream framework in order to analyze free childcare service. They asserted that the policy was merely decided two months before implication. Though it has been more than three years since the policy was started, the rapid process has made considerable problems, for instance, announcement of welfare default owing to lack of budget excepting specific groups from benefits, or shortage of institutions due to rapidly increased demands. They highlighted that among three streams of Kingdon's framework, political stream (general election) mainly influenced on additional benefits for three to four years old children, which has been decided since 2012. Despite serious financial difficulties, the beneficiaries have been expanded for all the pre-school aged children in 2013. They claimed that it is problematic, because the roles of entrepreneurs, and other two streams were neglected. According to the researchers, policy makers only focused on voting intentions, which seems to be an irrational decision (Kim and Hyun 2014). Similarly, Kim, Park, and Cho (2016) examined free childcare service focused on Kingdon's framework by comparing South Korea and Japan. Both countries showed a number of similarities in relation to socio-cultural aspects, for example, low fertility rate, and trying to introduce universal welfare. In addition, both countries experienced

financial troubles as soon as the free service was implemented. Korean government was criticized in terms of welfare default, and Japanese government abolished the policy in the end. Therefore, it is important to secure enough budget in order to continue the provisions. Chapter three will examine Korean policies with respect to cost and usage of childcare service in more detail.

Conclusion

So far, chapter one has tried to demonstrate the Korean cultural and policy context that is important background to understanding the development of family-friendly policies aimed at supporting female labour participation and related to that female fertility trends. It set out the statistical evidence on these two trends and discussed the cultural role of Confucianism in the family, in the labour environment and in policy making in terms of welfare state developments. Whilst over several decades Korean governments have made efforts to improve family friendly and childcare policies, results would suggest that Korea is still far from having a developed welfare state. Korea still has a residual welfare system and a family-dependent welfare state. Lastly, the Korean policy process was examined and was useful for understanding the progress, because there was sound theoretical basis of designing new policies. However, in conclusion, the nature of the policy context is still gendered in the Korean welfare regime. The gendered nature of the working environment and how it operates within families will be the subject of chapter two in order to set the context for the evidence on childcare provision in chapter 3 and the evidence on mothers' actual experiences of managing work and family life in chapter 4. Hence, the next chapter (two) will theoretically explain in terms of the gendered situation and how it is related to the burden of motherhood, gendered/patriarchy culture, and Confucianism. These issues will contribute to forming theoretical perspectives.

Chapter two Theories and Context

Introduction

Chapter one aims to introduce contemporary issues, focusing on the development of welfare regime in the Korean context. This chapter looks at the socio-economic and cultural factors related to female employment and the influence of Confucian practices in contemporary Korea. In short, this chapter lays out the theories and cultural context to the thesis in order to set the scene for understanding mothers, labour force participation rates and the challenges they face as well as the critiques of family policy and current state of policy developments regarding family friendly approaches.

This chapter begins to lay down some of the theoretical framework to be used in this thesis for examining working motherhood in Korea. Chapter two will therefore be more theoretical than chapter one, using national/international literature. Its final goal is creating a theoretical framework with theoretical perspectives. This work will contribute to see problems differently.

Thereby, this chapter aims to understand diverse theories which can be related to remaining chapters. Though most theories will be suggested before interview and analysis, new phenomenon discovered in field work will also provide for understanding it. For example, if 'emotional work' is suggested as results, chapter two will play the role of that theory's foundation of (like a) tree providing relevant theories, which will be helpful for grasping the lives of working mother. For this thesis, although many authors were from developed countries, their theories were useful for this Asian study. This trial will provide insights into one phenomena surrounding varied another phenomena for not only mothers but also other family members. To generate new knowledge, theories are required. And theoretical traditions should be well selectively organized for both epistemology and ontology.

Interestingly, for example, all studies from social science, especially, sociology. And many theories are based on sociology like a bough. This distinction was good experience as a novice researcher trying multidisciplinary study.

Though chapter 2 will try to answer this research question as follows:

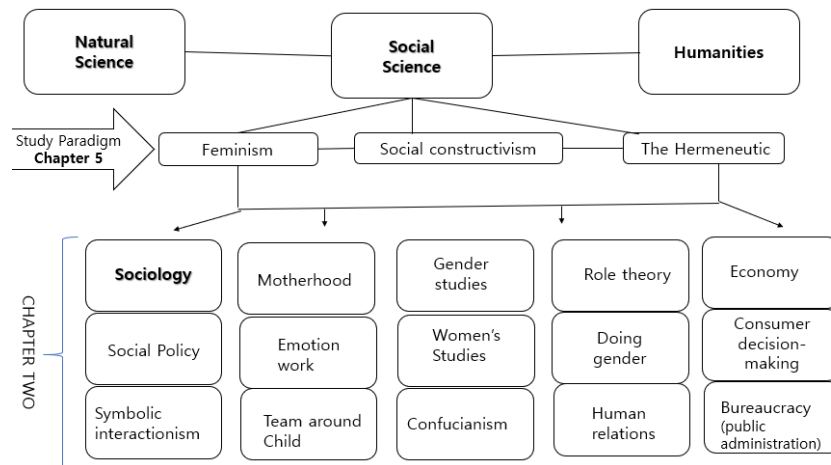
Which theories provide insights for understanding Korean working mothers and context?

2.1 Scope of study 1

To begin with, this chapter unfolds simple outline of a field of study. Once, scope of the figure 2.1¹⁸ suggested natural science, social science, and humanities, based on academia. Since this study deals with social science, it was located in the middle of the figure. It was not easy to narrow the scope, because the social science is also massive area as much as other fields like natural science and humanities. This figure shows many main theories in a fruitful way. This figure however does not aim to show all the theories in chapter two. Sometimes, the theories, if it is reasonable, it will be suddenly merged or separated for understanding issues. Actually there are more theories that will be described, but it is not easy to describe due to lack of space and lengthy. Thereby, remaining theories that are not written in the figure will be studied in this chapter, chapter four and chapter five.. Of these, feminism (including Confucianism) will be more detailed section than others in the entire chapter, because it is unique and representative cultural tradition in Korea. Social constructivism and Hermeneutic in chapter five play roles as epistemological background. In the second section, before going to the point, the table 2.1 shows similar things with figure one as below. But the shape and constitution are different from the first one.

Figure 2.1 Mapping out theories

¹⁸ This figure is just from me. It is closer to research memo rather than strict framework. It is rather idea or plan, but it clearly suggests the chapter two's outline.



In general, discipline tends to show three academic areas; Natural science, social science and humanities. Of these, sociology's history and tradition have impacted on sub-areas (e.g. social policy) or have been influenced by enormous discipline. In figures 2.1, study paradigm and theories were carefully selected. More to the point, whilst this chapter will be completed, new theories newly can be founded later on. If then, new theory might be able to be found or already suggested theory can be deleted or revised. This figure thus not a completed figure but a flexible figure at any time.

Table 2.1 Typology of relevant theories

1.Individual level of theory	Human development, cognitive behaviour, personality, interaction among individuals, role strain, doing gender, preference theory
2.Group level of theory	Family function, informal groups, project team, Work-life reconciliation
3.Organizational level of theory	Bureaucracy, organization structure and function, partnership among organizations, gender, feminism
4.Societal level of theory	Bureaucracy, city development, international relations, cultural traditions, development of technology

*constructed from Klein, and White (1996). P.76

2.2 Scope of study 2

Table 2.1 also organize the theories through different theological lens. Just one theory is not enough to explain something or any phenomenon well. Researchers must focus on all the parts of theories in order to understand entire region (Klein, and White, 1996). They proposed a framework that looks similar with an eco-system theory stressing background of a person's, from individual, family to state (Klein, and White, 1996). This study also should consider following areas located in proper structure. Klein, and White (1996) suggested four types of main themes.

We can use figure one and table one together. Figure one offers basics of varied theories and the theory's level, at the same time, table 1 supports theoretical perspective in terms of each concepts in each level of theories. For example, we can easily see bureaucracy at any Korean company office by company workers' behaviour. Bureaucracy also lead economy growth, especially in 1960-70s (Jung, SG 2004). Bureaucracy will be explored again in relation to cons as well as pros. To use the table 1 in this study, it was slightly modified as seen in table 2. 1. Simply the theories in table 1 move to new table 2. Since, this work is from researcher (me)'s idea, though it's not perfect. But it is easy to understand.

In addition, the term 'gender' is applied to both women and men and is now the acceptable and common term to be used instead of 'sex' and it describes 'gender identity' and 'gender role'. Another way to consider gender is as a 'regime'. Regarding regime, based on Sainsbury'(1999)s principle, Won (2003) defined regime as a total concept of value, norm and rules, provided a kind of framework to lead people a direction. (Won, 2003, p.229-230).

Regarding the number of theories, though there is not strict order, the proceed will be ordered: societal level, organizational level, group level and Individual level. To understand Korean working mother well, starting with macro level (Korean society) to micro (mother's life) looks suitable.

2.3 Societal level of theory

Confucianism

Gender inequality remains highly problematic in Korean gender regime and could act as a barrier prohibiting many women and mothers from having or advancing their own careers. In addition, gender discrimination is also evident in the workplace and a challenge to women and especially working mothers. Confucianism is not only cultural context but also reality directly impacting on the gender regime. Patriarchy appeared everywhere to Joseon women. Combining reality and a

view of the world can theory (35), which is strongly appeared in Confucianism. Confucianism was also idea or philosophy early on. But it turn into theory governing real life(28).

The light and shade of Confucianism

Like gender gap report, WEF annually announce 'Global Competitiveness Report' (WEF, 2017). Although gender ranking was far behind, Competitiveness is highly ranked, which was 26th of 137 countries. Notably, macroeconomic environment represented secondly highest ranking and 'infrastructure' recorded 8th. Although most indexes have reached upper rank, labour market efficiency showed row rank (73th). The sub-index 'flexibility' was noticeably lagged far behind (106th of 137) (WEF, 2017). This raking signifies Confucian, strict, rigid and male-dominated employment regime despite stable macro economy. The low flexibility might cause work-family conflicts especially for female employees responsible for childcare.

Relevant surveys have reported that the Korean working environment is discriminatory, though this could vary by business areas. A panel study targeted at female employees revealed that 11 per cent to 20 per cent of workers have ever experienced gender discrimination in the workplace, though the figures have been decreased since the first longitudinal survey in 2007 (27.3%-35.3%) (Joo, JS 2014). Regarding six types of experiences of gender discrimination these figures are proportion of women who experienced following discriminations. For example, 'arranging business (20%)' means 20 per cent of respondents has ever experienced discrimination at work; arranging business (20%), salary or benefit (19%) and promotion (16%) showed high rates, and employment (15%) personnel transfers (13%), and training opportunities (12%) were followed. A majority of female employees in managerial positions (75%) (Kim, NJ et al.,2014) reported that a male-dominated organization culture was the main reason for discrimination, organizations (e.g. construction industry), large major companies (more than which was especially evident in the male-oriented 1000 employees), and in the private sectors.

Working mothers also report experiencing daily challenges in their workplaces with many problems associated with employers' uncooperative attitudes which are typical of Korea's organizational culture. For example, half of working mothers (51.8%) with dependent children (0-12 years) perceived an unfriendly workplace atmosphere when it came to their care responsibility, which was much higher than a family's opposition to their paid work (22%) (Kim, EK 2015). Other studies showed that female workers who also had childcare responsibilities, complained that a company's gendered atmosphere (54%) and hostility of bosses or colleagues (29%) were major sources of work-life conflicts (Ye, JE et al.,2010). This was in contrast to their relationship with their child (27%) or partner (18%) recognized as being problematic (Ye, JE et al.,2010). Noticeably, therefore the main cause of conflict lies not in families but in the workplace and some studies

concluded that the factor that actually caused women taking a career-break when they became a mother, was not their role in rearing preschool children. However, the work environment and its attendant gendered problems should be improved (Joo, JS 2014; Park, JS et al., 2014).

Gendered practices and discrimination is not easy to overcome however, and Yoon and Im (2014) pointed out there was a lack of formal routes for active communications between management and labour, which have explained employers' rigidity. The cooperation is crucial in that those cultural practices are hard to change by one-sided policy revisions or employees' requirements (Han, IS 2014). Park, SY et al. (2014) also recommended public advertisement and educational programs to overcome traditional labour norms requiring excessive commitments to organizations. Therefore, in the long term, the government, media, employers and employees should work together to increase benefits of policies for working mothers. Even so, whilst there is need for workplace improvements, the family also remains a site of unequal and gendered practices in the division of household labour and that makes it difficult for mothers to combine their childcare responsibilities with paid work.

Confucianism and Economic Growth

Yu, TG, (1989) analysed the relationship between Neo-Confucianism and capitalist economic development. Newly industrialized countries (NICs) including Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore. Since Japan in also Confucian cultural area already became a developed country, the newly industrialized countries (NICs) paid attention to Japan as a same Confucian welfare regime. But, China failed to be like Japan, because familism is fairly strong. They regarded family as core of society and showed exclusiveness to other families. That is, China could not expand and apply their familism to outside social groups. Japanese Confucianism addressed individual dependency in whole unit. Family profitism was developed and transition to economy profitism. This familism contributed to Japanese economic growth.

Family policies have failed to improve gender quality

Many feminist theorists have revealed gender ideology and gender inequality as the main constraints for reconciling work and family life (Houston 2005; Lewis 2008; Orloff and Palier 2009). In Korea, although gender inequality has reduced as a result of globalization since the mid-1990s (Moon, 2000), many studies have found that gendered environments have been major barriers to women balancing work and family life (Kim HJ 2011; Lee, Zvonkovic and Crawford 2013; Won 2012). Given the situation in the labour market, Jang, Shin, and Park (2014) asserted that Korean society is still far from the gender egalitarian dual-earner family model even though the proportion of dual-earner families has gradually increased. In Korea dual-earners have risen from 37 per cent in 1995 to 44.6 per cent in 2018, with the rate for couples in their thirties being less

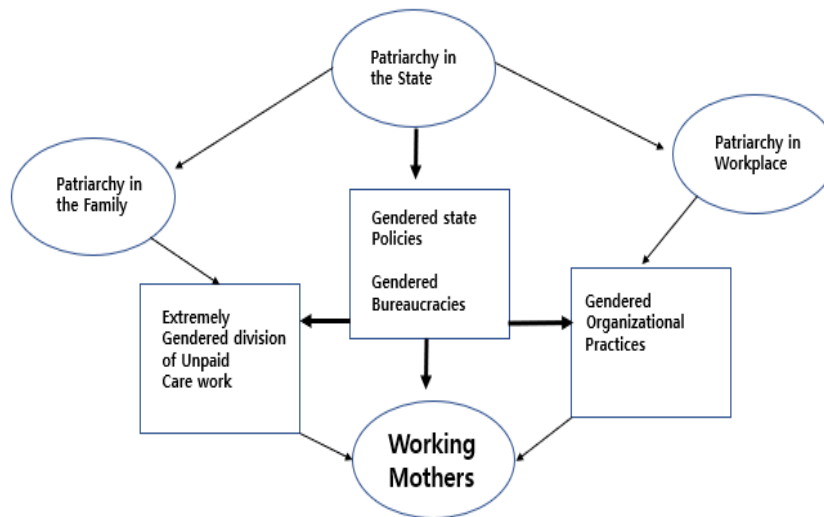
(47.3%) than for those in their forties (52.1%) (Statistics Korea, 2018). This seems to reflect the typical patterns of female employment showing career-breaks of women in their thirties. So despite the argument by Bradshaw and Finch (2010), that mothers' increased employment tends to lead to a demographic transition from a male breadwinner model to a dual-earner family model, this is not quite the situation yet in Korea.

Work-life (childcare) reconciliation

Even so, the expansion of policies for encouraging female employment have failed to improve the quality of employment. Since specific state's social policy and cultural orientation are interrelated (Pfau-Effinger 1998), the reasons of the fails also can be explained by cultural dimension (particularly, gendered culture). The problem is that policies have focused on increasing the number of female workers, yet women's career-break due to childbirth was actually caused not by the shortage of jobs, but by poor labour conditions (Joo, JS 2014). Therefore, Jang, Shin, and Park (2014) claimed that work-life balance policies have perpetuated gender problems. Increasing the number of part-time jobs for women and increasing childcare places were premised upon male breadwinning and the mother's primary responsibility for childcare, both of which has continued without resolving remaining problems in the labour market. Therefore, the burden of childcare and childrearing seems to be closely related to the results of a gendered and inflexible working environment rather than to the difficulties of reconciling work with childcare responsibilities.

Taking all these aspects together, Won, SY (2003) discovered the concept, 'patriarchal triangle' of the 'government-family-workplace' in Korea. She pointed out that the three gendered areas tended to demand childcare burdens fall to working mothers and that patriarchy faces women in all three spheres. She represents this in the diagram (2.1) reconstructed below in which there is a gendered division of labour in the home, gendered practices in the workplace and gendered policies and state bureaucracies. Part of the explanation for this may lie in Korea lagging behind other developed countries in terms of the women's movement and feminist fights for equal rights.

Diagram 2.1 Working mothers' position in Korea



Source: Reconstructed from Won (2003, p.70)

Bureaucracy and employment regime

Table 2.1 shows 'bureaucracy' was explained both in the organizational level and in the at societal level. At the macro level, Confucian capitalism is deeply related to role of bureaucracy (Jung, SG, 2004). On the other hand, conservative organizational condition in Korea can impact on employees, because quality of employment regime influences on job's quality of employees (Gallie 2007), which is involved in still remained Confucianism. In here, employment regime covers production regime and labour market policy regime. Gendered labour market and gendered workplace culture (from employment to promotion) made government implement Active Action.

According to Choi, II (2017) Equal Employment started in United States in order to provide compensation for vulnerable people. Korea has developed Act on the Gender Equality in the Employment since 1987 to relieve sex discrimination and gendered organization culture. As a result, AA enforced large company (employees more than 500) since 2006 and made legal basis for gender equality in labour market. At that time, gender sensitive policies were also implemented or revised -e.g. increasing childcare budget-(Baek, SH, 2015). Gwak, SH (2015) argued, for about 8 years, policies and practices have not been noticeably improved. This case shows the gap between reality and policy. Equal employment opportunity has been a crucial

issued since 1970s in U.S.A) and has been developed (Leonardo 2016; Weatherspoon 2018). Especially, diversity was stressed considering the weak not only the disabled but also working mothers, which can be called 'good management' (Leonardo, 2016). Despite multicultural country, America accomplished improving labour market. In Korea, it has controversial issues (showing national concern) despite Confucian county. As chapter one discussed, Labour Standard Act describes employee's welfare and working condition. Employment Insurance Act (2019) is encouraging employment, increasing worker's job capacity, strengthen government's job guidance and job introduction. It is expected that both acts newly stipulate gender sensitive policies in Korea. The new perspective will contribute to labour condition, decreasing career-break, and maternity protection. These efforts will open the door for the next step of welfare state.

In Korean literature, over the past few decades, a large number of bureaucracy research has been carried out. The question is that a majority of studies were conducted long time ago (Baek, WG, 1982; Ahn, BY, 1989; Park, SG, 1992) and the question of research topic is leaning too much on bureaucracy's pathology (Chung, JS 1975; Yeon, TH 1976; Park, WS 1985). Meanwhile, Hawng, SY (2009) tried to approach two directions of bureaucracy. First of all in , Hawng, SY (2009)'s displays Niskanen school asserted bureaucracy have problems of distribution, unproductive, and inefficient. On the other hand, Mises school has positive attitudes towards bureaucracy and argued government's intervention causes problems. Hawng, SY (2009) concluded two approaches are not exclusive but complementary interaction. Meanwhile, Korean bureaucracy seems to have played negative role in relation to Confucianism and patriarchy. Most studies deals pathological phenomenon of bureaucracy as mentioned. This result is likely to new movements for better organization culture, though now organizational and societal level both negative results that have been worse with Confucian tradition, patriarchy, and gendered regime. Although men and women are employed with same engagement, many women still undergo inferior position (e.g. promotion, wage).

2.4 Organizational level of theory

Gender Regime and Gender Inequality

Won (2003) developed the concept of 'gender-policy regime'. First of all, she synthesized various scholars' definition trials and defined gender-policy regime is systemized concept involving various social policies. Gender-policy regime is related to gender relations manifest in state or state policy (policy reasoning), which is sub-element of gender regime. Gender regime indicates general totality related to gender issues in a specific society (Won, 2003,p.236). In Korea, we need to consider effect of Confucian tradition, which govern Korean society. Gender culture (Pfau-Effinger, 1998 cited in Won, 2003, p.236) in Korea cannot escape from Confucianism. There are a couple of paths. The gendered relationship among state, family, and Confucian culture has caused stronger Confucian culture and heavy reliance on family welfare. As discussed in chapter one, East Asian welfare model demonstrates strong familialism. 'Maximum of private responsibility means dependence on women's responsibility in conservative and male-oriented Korean Confucian society' (Won, SY 2003), especially care responsibility for child and elderly.

Chapter one demonstrated the powerful role, the value of Confucianism in gender regime. Gendered culture still exerts on society (in the family and workplace) and these finally influence gender discrimination practices and gender inequalities. Certainly, the global gender gap report represents useful evidence on the current state of gender inequality in Korean society. The World Economic Forum (henceforth, WEF) annually measures gender gaps (in health, education, economy and politics) and reports worldwide rankings in 144countries (WEF, 2017).

According to the global ranking, Korea was ranked 115th out of 149 countries for gender inequality. According to country profile (WEF, 2018), the ranking has not noticeably improved over the last ten years given that Korea was ranked 92nd out of 115 countries in 2006 (WEF, 2018). In terms of a sub-index, 'Economic Participation and Opportunity' offers information about labour force participation, wage equality and occupational positions. Korea was ranked 124th which is lower than the overall ranking. Regarding political empowerment, it was ranked 92nd(WEF, 2018) and the female share of members in the national parliament in Korea is 17 per cent, which is much lower than the OECD average (28.7%) (OECD, 2017). In terms of the gender wage gap (calculated by comparing the median earnings of men and women), Korea was the highest among OECD countries at 36.7 per cent difference and OECD average is 14.1 per cent (OECD, 2018a). Noticeably, Korea has held the position for four years in a row (2011-2014) (OECD, 2014a). Based on the relevant global index, Korea also showed low performance in wage equality being ranked 121st among 149countries (WEF, 2017). Therefore, in addition to the low female employment rate, it is notable that many female employees are more poorly paid than male workers.

Regarding other indicators of gender inequality in the labour market, Korea showed quite a low proportion of women employed as senior managers (0.4% compared to 2.4% of men) (OECD,

2016e). It is quite low rate in comparison to some European countries (for example 7.9% of UK women held managerial posts in 2014, no data of OECD average). Korean women also presented the third highest incidence of temporary employment in 2014, 23.9 per cent compared to 20 per cent of Korean men, and only 6.9 per cent of UK women (OECD, 2016f). These patterns of gender inequality could be caused by the traditional gender ideology building gender discrimination, such as the glass ceiling hindering women's promotion (Newman and Grauerholz, 2002). The Economist regularly report 'Glass Ceiling Index' analysing 29 OECD countries including Korea recorded the lowest score for 7 years in a row (The Economist, 2019). Interestingly, women's higher educational achievements in Korea have not improved gender equality. For instance, in 2014, Korean women had higher entrance rates (75%) to higher education institutions than men (68%), which has continued since 2011 (Statistics Korea, 2015b). However, the OECD (2014b) revealed that educated Korean women (at least upper-secondary education level) showed lower employment rates than the OECD average for women with the same educational level, whereas educated Korean men demonstrated higher employment rates than the OECD average.

2.5 Theories of Group level

Doing Gender

West and Zimmerman(1987, p.137) defined 'doing gender' as "creating differences between girls and boys and women and men, differences that are not natural, essential, or biological in diverse set of circumstances." The differences have been socially constructed and they theorized "gender as an ongoing situated process, a doing rather than being" (West and Zimmerman 2009). Whilst there are other doing gender theorists, the discussion here draws on the work of West and Zimmerman (1987) for its theoretical framework in order to understand the principles of doing gender theory defined in four key terms.

The first key term is 'activity'. Boys and girls learn from their parents or teachers. Parents model gender by their division of household labour (e.g. gardening by father, caring newborn infant by mother) teaching children to do the same. Likewise, boys and girls engage in gendered activities. Young children's activities provide clues to their mothers' everyday practices (West and Zimmerman, 1987). The society expects mothers' roles which are strongly internalized and psychologically conformed (Mukherjee, 2016).

The second key word is 'interaction'. It is important to explain interaction between genders, because in order to make good relationships with people, they fit their activities into social expectations which is socially (re)constructed. Repeated interactions contributes to considering appropriate reaction to be socially a man or women (West and Zimmerman 1987). The interaction includes the natural emotional bond with child (Mukherjee, 2016). A biological mother naturally

develops a relationship with their child and the process makes mother-child share physiological, cultural or structural factors.

The third term is 'accountability'. People are responsible for their words and actions. For example, most working mothers feel guilty about not spending more time with their child. If a father does not feel the same guilt, it is a 'gendered emotion' (Pease, 2012). In short, males and females are responsible for their gendered behaviour. Mothers who gave up sharing household labour with husbands are also responsible for the gendered behaviour, because she relinquished power of negotiation in terms of sharing housework. According to Duncan and Edward (1999), social ties and moral responsibilities have been socially discussed. Motherhood identity has influenced social norms (Himmelwait and Sigala 2004), but the mothers' actions, however, cannot escape the social norms.

The final term is 'social norm'. Authors studying doing gender mainly expressed "normative system" or "normative conceptions". For example, according to West and Zimmerman (1987) a girl or a boy's genitalia should not be exposed (social agreement) outside the home, so they should wear clothes (West and Zimmerman, 1987). We can thus recognize 'a girl' and expect femininity by considering how wearing clothes is a gendered behaviour. West and Zimmerman (1987,p.134) called this "normative gender appropriate behaviour." "Doing gender is not always accords with normative conceptions of masculinity or femininity, it is to engage in behaviour at the risk of gender assessment" (West and Zimmerman, 1987,p.136). If a person breaks social norms, the society will hold them responsible. The standard of appropriate gender behaviour depends on meeting social norms about mothers and families. West and Zimmerman (1987) frequently use the term 'appropriate'. Accountability cannot be separated from social norms. If a boy tries to keep social norm (for example, by keeping his hair short), people praise him for being accountable. Notably, the term 'conformity' confines women's behaviours and interactions to social requirements. Accordingly, women get social status for conforming. In short, 'a woman becomes a mother not only by the biological act of delivering a child but also, very importantly by conforming to the expected role assigned by the society' (Mukherjee 2016, p.138).

Taking these four terms of activity, interaction, accountability and social norms constitutes 'doing gender' as something actively constructed. Doing gender cannot be completely arbitrary and evidently expresses 'social norm' within the cultural context. Therefore, it seems that doing gender is a forced behaviour by social norm (Mukherjee, 2016). Esping-Andersen (2009) also cited the theory of 'doing gender' and argued that the gendered division of labour is still operating in Europe means there has been an 'incomplete revolution' in gender equality. In Korea, the social norm is Confucianism (Hwang, 1999) and as discussed above men's share of household labour was even lower than in Europe, and working mothers are still primarily responsible for childcare

and face sexual discrimination in the workplace. This makes combining work and family life a difficult thing for mothers to achieve and this is why it is important for this thesis to study working mothers in Korea to understand how they have dealt with the challenges they have faced and how 'doing gender' still might operate or be modified. We now move on to discuss role theories influenced by social norm.

Normative sociology

According to Nützel* (2015), all the people exert influence on each other. If a child is influenced by friend and he also influence on his friend, this action process is called 'Normative sociology'.

Table.2.2 The year of implementing universal suffrage	
1906: Finland	1918: Austria
1919: Germany	1928: UK
1930: Turkey	1933: Spain
1971: Swiss	1990: Swiss Appenzell Inner Rhodes
*Constructed from Nützel (2015)	

2.6 Theories of Individual level

2.7 Theoretical Framework

Chapter two was completed about 20%, because this chapter requires many theories and concepts and current works also need major corrections. For this work, I have used the way of thematic analysis and it will improve chapter two better.

Reading list for writing chapter 2 (mainly theoretical framework), and other remaining chapters		
No	Book Title	Theories, concept or knowledge (page)-summery version
1	Sociology	Social constructionism (in detail), emotional work -social interactions (66), definition of socialization (363), the family or families (419) Hochschild delayed revolution
2	(new) Invitation to sociology	What is sociology? What are the features as an academic field? (31) societal concern (57), social policy study (66)
3	I am a working mom.	Sandwich generation (14) good enough mother (112) time poor (132) decision fatigue (233)
4	No more life as an only mother	Guilty (46), mother's roles in Korea (104) burn-out (122) self-empathy (146) me-time (159) dual-earner couple (164) tipping point (217)
5	Reading women correctly	Gender roles (62), gender standardization (100)
6	New lecture of women's studies	Expansion to gender studies, women's study's social constructionism (24) division of sex/gender (172) emotional work (234)
7	Perfect madness	Mommy wars (35) guilty (many pages), ideal childcare network (45) the problem of choice (76) mommy fantasy (48, 65) childcare team better >>mom alone (146)
8	Gender studies	Finding the meaning of gender, the relation between feminism and gender (99) and sociology and gender (193) Reviewing related studies
9	Family Policy	Emotional work (184) family and social construction (25) the change of families (for intro) (26)
10	Experiences by qualitative scholar	Life world (225) abductive approach (38) voiceless people (43) Protection system (65) emotional work (166)
11	Women, gender, and society	Understanding Gender (11) gender equality (13) gender roles (19), gender and family: perspective on family (98)
12	Invitation to sociology (Peter. L)	Role theory -mead (243) cultural lag (14) trials for understanding=sociology=>real life (36)
13	Socio-cultural essay for	Low fertility rate (34) regular job and temporary job (146)

	youth	glass ceiling (95)
14	Sociology essay for youth	Social welfare system in Korea (175)
15	Incomplete Revolution	Women's life course (41) women employment and inequality (113) doing gender, gender roles specialization, recent trend
16	The elements of style	Whenever needed, I see the chapters in this book.
17	The short guide to Social policy	Good enough sources for writing introduction chapter.
18	Introduction to sociology for new generation	Symbolic interaction and ego (159) socialization (161) gender role stereotype and reproduction (185) emotional work (192)
19	Feminist perspectives on sex and gender	Division of sex and gender (9) gender terms (14) gender a socially constructed concept (17-)
20	The philosophy of social science	Feminist perspective theories (26), ontology, epistemology, feminism epistemology, emotional work (255) preference (263)
21	Constructing grounded theory	Pass
22	The social construction of Reality	Academic identity and theoretical framework (262-4) time and everyday life (52) household labour and partner(76) Various perspectives (136) social meaning of childhood (210)
23	Methodology in case studies	Public policy (35) generalization (40) Examination of four types of case studies (48) unit of analysis (64) types of theories (76) good example of case-real daily life (68)
24	Constructionism social welfare practice technology	Empiricism (23) constructionism (31) social welfare (33) Starting of constructionism (38) scope of constructionism (45)
25	Woman and Education	Gender roles and socialization (12) flow of feminism (68)
26	I am made by society	Normative sociology, social norms in sociology, socialization (75), family's socialization (87). Roles (119) choice (229)
27	Essential concepts in sociology	Emotional work
28	After death of Konji, Korea can live.	Rule of law (43), neo-liberalism (77), world financial market (105) Korea governed by dead Park, Junghee (132)
29	Style (basics of clarify and	Reading relevant part whenever I needed a style related

	Grace)	help.
30	The reproduction of mothering	Why woman and mother? Theory of role training (61) theory of object relations (180)
31	The hermeneutic Imagination	Life world (134), inductive and deductive approach (69), experience=everything (135), the attitudes of researcher(130).
32	The value of feminism and mother leadership	Mother and leadership (6) Exploring mothering problem for future (63) Korean patriarchy and motherhood (149)
33	New philosophy of social science	The status of sociology (23), ontology (24) epistemology (36) social structure (98) understanding (104)
34	Methodology in social science: practical approach	Integrating various theories (404), experience + theory=explanation, feminism social science (413)
35	Bureaucracy in Korea	Understanding concepts and starting (7) Intro-social science (15) what is modernism? (23)
36	Questioning gender sociological exploration	Why study gender(41), strong social constructionism (38) social construct and relational connecting net (123)
37	Gender and society	Emotional work (356), definition of feminism (21), equality (22) gender analysis (74) women policy (x) gender (o) (482)
38	Understanding human relations	The result of emotional work : exhaustion...(249)
39	Consumer behavior	Family (essentials, nature, characteristics and functions) (232-) Diversity of people (6) integrated models (10-) individual behavior-social elements (10) role structure of families
40	Sociology with stories: Weber and banana	Creating subject world: mother and baby (225)
41	Methodology of gender studies and society analysis	Feminism and qualitative study (12)-Sociology has a role of problem posing. Chodorow (27) social constructionism (34) Motherhood (188) unpair roles by mothers (189)
42	Qualitative methodology: five approaches	Meaning of qualitative study (87) Origin of the study (29) interpretation frame (41) characteristics of theory (72)
43	Policy research	Meaning of policy (3) why policy study? (86)
44	Qualitative methodology: focus on cultural sociology	Meaning of culture (22) social constructionism-reality (72) Husserl- Life world (77) male-oriented academic field (103) feminist sociologist, double lens (113) abductive

		approach(87)
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Chapter Three Childcare Provision in Korea

Introduction

Chapter two introduced Esping-Anderson's term, 'incomplete revolution' to describe women's new roles. He claims that although this revolution has reached Korea, it has fallen behind. To limit inequality, intervention (investment) for childcare and early childhood education is needed (Esping-Anderson 2014). He revealed 'gender equality' is not only a feminist concern but also a rational behaviour for Pareto-optimal results. Thus, high quality childcare should be universal.

Chapter three provides an up-to-date analysis of survey and administrative data on childcare service provision in Korea. It maps out the types of childcare available in Korea, both formal and informal childcare (grandmothers, private babysitters and mostly out of school care in private Hakwon). This chapter discusses Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC) not in terms of a unified policy but rather as a range of different childcare services, including education and care for pre-school children which is discussed separately from outside school care and education for primary school-aged children. It begins by setting the context in terms of discussing the meaning of childhood in Korea as a means to justify the choice in the thesis to focus on childcare for children aged 0-12 years. Also it sets out the background on the age of publicly provided schooling in Korea.

3.1 Context

Traditional meaning of childhood in Korea

When we discuss child(hood), we need to consider its socio-cultural context, because it is the background of human development (Esping-Anderson, Hudson and Whang

2014). This section will explore Korea's traditional views of children and child development in light of Confucianism.

In Korea, childhood started in the embryo stage in the womb where they were already thought to be a child, thus a child is one year old at the point of birth. Traditionally, childhood ended at age 15 with the coming-of-age ceremony. In *Dongmong*¹⁹'s view of the child, children were thought of as immature and in need of disciplining and adults believed in children's potential as the stream leads to the big river and for this flow, children need a teacher who can guide them. Home education was considered an important duty for parents. But children occupied a low position in a hierarchy of respect for elders and there was a strong gender preference for boys in this patriarchal society with daughters being lower than sons. In Confucianism, sons carry on the familial line and are responsible for taking care of their elderly parents and for their memorial ceremony post death. Happiness was therefore defined as 'many sons'. Daughters are expected to marry and become part of their husband's family. Thus, families tend to teach daughters to become wives and the daughter-in-law was the lowest member in a two-generation family (Jung, OB, 2006). Within this broad context of childhood, In Confucianism, children were classified as having ten different stages of development as follows (all ages are based on the Korean age calculating system).

- **Embryo-antenatal education:** Pre-natal education during pregnancy was very important with the belief "Ten months is much more important than 10 years education after birth".
- **Infancy:** the first three years of childhood was a protected phase and discipline started at age three supported by the belief that 'what is learned in the cradle is carried to the tomb.' Discipline is limited to manners and hygiene using a spoon,

¹⁹ *Dongmong*: This is a Chinese/Korean word, meaning too young to think logically (like standing in a dark place).

putting on clothes, using the lavatory, and talking. Additionally, they start to be taught basic Confucian morals influenced. Their textbooks addressed the importance of child growth in a family, the family's ethical consideration and moral cultivation (Cline, 2015).

- **Dongmong part 1:** Part 1 covers ages seven to ten where parents become less permissive. Expressed as 'A strict father and a loving mother' in these years. Nowadays, children enter primary school at this age. By studying the text book of 'Dongmon sunseup', children learn Confucian morals with an identity as a small China (Kim, GM 2003).
- **Dongmong part 2:** runs from ages 10 to 15. At age of 10, children learn to pay attention to and serve adults. They are expected to behave like adults and the education was strict. Education depends on gender. Boys go to Sarangbang.²⁰ Girls learn attitude, personality, and housework. Boys are encouraged to be independent but girls are not. Importantly, direct education from parents was changed to professional teacher (Jung, OB 2006). At age 13, children enter school(traditional study place, quite different from contemporary school). During that time, children learn rules, habits, and subjects associated with adolescence, but are still regarded as not being agents of self-realization but the subjects of discipline (Lee, SI 2016). Children's role models are their parents.

Childhood traditionally was strictly controlled with these stages of development, and children were not seen as having agency until they reached adulthood at age 15.

Modern society sees this differently.

Childhood in modern society

²⁰ Sarangbang is a patriarchal place for men who gathered for studying. Landlord mostly stays at the room or the room could be living room for discussing study with other guests (Jung, OB, 2006)

In modern society, the meaning of childhood is more accepted as being socially constructed (Jung, SA 2002). Whilst traditional society saw children as powerless and passive, children are now acknowledged as independent human beings. Accordingly, children were regarded as having unique personalities, and having different ways of thinking and problem-solving to adults (Jung, SA 2002). Rather than unconditional repeated training, understanding child's cognition and psychological features was considered as being better. Public schooling became more important and relieved parents from the educational burden (Jung, SA, 2002). Although, parents were still expected to take every opportunity to aid child development such as arranging interesting classes to fit with current development stage.

School Education

In accordance with article 8 of the Framework Act on Education (2019), Korean children are obliged to complete nine years of compulsory education; primary school (six years) and middle school (three years). In order to explain the school entrance, it is worth mentioning Korea's semester system and age counting system. The Korean school system has two semesters: March to July, and August to December. According to the unique age calculation in Korea, a new born baby is already one year old, and the age is counted in line with birth year regardless of date of birth. As an extreme example, a baby born on December 31, 2017 would be two years old on January 1, 2018, since it is his or her second birth year. Accordingly, article 13 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (2019) stipulates that parents need to send their six-year-olds child to primary school from the next March in the following year. In short, all children born in 2011 should enter primary school in 2018. Thus, incoming primary school students in Korea are eight years old, but in Europe these same children would be considered six years old. The difference between Korean and British children

starting ages for different childcare services is briefly shown in table 3.1. Although the starting age is slightly different between two countries, there seem to be similarities in terms of attendance and types of education systems. If a child stays at home, (not going school is neglecting child), parents get punished by education law (GOV.UK ,2019).

Table 3.1 Comparing entrance age between Britain and Korea

	Britain	Korea
Day nursery	6 weeks to 5 years old	3 months to 6 years old
Nursery school	2 years to 5 years old	3 years to 6 years old
Reception	4 years to 5 years old	No Reception
Primary School	5 years to 11 years old	6 years to 12 years old

Source: GOV.UK (2016)

A five-day school week system was fully implemented in 2012 alongside the five-day working system introduced in 2004 (Ministry of Education, 2014a). Elementary and

Secondary Education Act (2019) stipulates total number of school days per year (more than 190 days per year under the five-day school-day system) but does not state school hours. Therefore, school principals have discretionary authority to set up their own daily school hours, and summer/winter vacation period. Since the Article 24 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act states 'daytime education' as the rule, schooling time typically tends to start at 08.30 and finishes at around 14.00-15.00 (Ministry of Education, 2014b). According to Yoo, HJ et al. (2014), most students (68%) finished regular classes between 13.30 and 15.30.

Why study children under the age of 12?

There are several practical reasons why this study selected children up to age 12. Koreans refer to people under 12 as 'children' (called *Eoorin*), but after entrance into middle school, they are called 'youth.' However, defining child and youth on the basis of legal grounds is almost impossible (Gang and Lee, 2015). The Childcare Act (2019) defined children as younger than six years old (article 2-1). The Child Welfare Act (article 3-1) defined children as under 18 years, the public i-dolbolm Support Act stipulates that a child is 0-12 years old (article 2-1). Considering the work of i-dolbolm caregiver (care at child's home), it can be interpreted that childhood is still seen as being from 0-12 years old and children need care from adults, This is sanctioned by this public service and coincides with the end of primary school education. In Korea, most middle and high school students (aged 13+) go to *Hakwon*²¹ after school, and sometimes stay until 10-11pm. They come home later than their parents and it is believed that children between the ages of 11 and 18 years can take care of themselves (Hong and Lee 2014). There is another reason for including school aged

²¹ Korean word, meaning private education institute, usually used by school children for academic achievement.

children. This study can show how childcare is arranged for preschool and primary school-aged children.

3.2 Types of Childcare

Previous studies on childcare services have tried to categorise them in diverse ways (Hertz and Ferguson, 1996; Leach, 2009; Leira, 2002; Windebank, 1996). This study will adapt the category used by Campbell-Barr and Garnham (2010) who described childcare as either formal care or informal care according to whether or not it is registered by a government agency.

Formal childcare refers to registered childcare services delivered by professional caregivers from a (local) governmental institution. In this study, formal childcare includes day nursery, nursery school, out-of-school-hours care (henceforth, OSH), the i-dolbom service, local child centres and youth centres. Except for the i-dolbom service, most of the formal care services are provided at institutions. The i-dolbom service is unique; it qualifies as formal childcare, because it is a government project which supports in-home care and is considered as a kind of public babysitting service (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 2018).

In contrast, informal childcare is unregistered childcare provided by friends, family members (mostly, grandmothers), relatives, private babysitters, some private learning centres (*Hakwon* in Korean), and community based care. A private babysitter is hired from a private company (like an employment agency) or more commonly is recommended by an acquaintance. The baby sitter is thus likely to be unknown to the parents, which could make these babysitters less reliable than the i-dolbom service (Hong, Kim and Sun, 2013).

Formal child care services

Table 3.2 displays the childcare service and policies which regulate childcare provision according to children's age. The first two columns show two types of formal childcare for preschool-aged children: day nursery and nursery school, which were separately stipulated by Childcare Act (2020) and Early Childhood Education Act (2018).

Table 3.2 Formal Childcare Services and Stipulating Acts according to child's age groups

Preschool Children (0-5 years old)		Primary school children (school age: 6-12 years old)	
0-2 years	3-5 years	6-8 years	9-12 years
Day Nursery: Childcare Act (2020 ²²)			
	Nursery school: Early Childhood Education Act (2018)		
		OSH at school (education/care classes): Administrative rule of Elementary and Secondary Education Curriculum (No. 2013-7, No. 2015-74)	
		OSH at Local Child Centre (Outside school): Child Welfare Act (2019)	
			OSH at Youth centre: Framework Act on Juveniles (2018)
i-dolbom service at child's home (0-12 years): i-dolbom (Child-care) Support Act (2019)			

²² This year indicates the law's last revision. Most revisions were made in 2017-2019 and set the started enforcement in 2019.

enforcements:	Providing legal basis for encouraging policy
	Framework Act on Healthy Families (2018),
	Framework Act on Gender Equality (2019)

Note: This table is summarized from Yoo, HJ et al. (2014), p. 120 and p. 157.

Update check for recent revision year: The National Information Centre
 [Available] at: <http://www.law.go.kr/LSW/main.html> [Accessed 27 JULY 2019]

Day Nurseries and Nursery Schools

Preschool children (aged 0-5) can attend either a day nursery or a nursery school, but children have to be at least age 3 to attend a nursery school. Day nursery is governed under the Childcare Act²³ (2020) administrated by Ministry of Health and Welfare.

Article 23 of the enforcement regulations of the Act states the operating hours as 12 hours (07.30 to 19.30) on weekdays, and 8 hours (07.30 to 15.30) on Saturdays. Some can provide time extended childcare, including night care, 24 hour care and holiday care, although supply is limited (see next section). The day nursery is the most common formal childcare service, and about half (56.4%) were open from Monday to Saturday and average operating time was from 7.42 to 19.30, which shows that most day nurseries complied with the rule (Kim, ES et al., 2014).

The age of three has been regarded as the turning point for starting pre-primary education in most OECD countries (OECD, 2015). In Korea, children can then attend nursery schools which are regulated under the Early Childhood Education Act (2018)

and administrated by Ministry of Education. Article 13 stressed the provision of connected curricula to school education (Ministry of Education, 2015) and in the pre-primary education it is called '*Nuri*- curriculum'. Since 2013, the '*Nuri*-curriculum' has also been commonly applied to day nursery care for children aged three- to five-years old. And then children aged 0-2 were also included (Ministry of Education, 2015).

In terms of operating times, nursery schools are not required to open for 12 hours per day. The directors can set their own rules under the supervision of the Ministry of Education or local education offices (article 10), but they must keep to the enforcement regulations (article 11, 12) in terms of managing the number of school days. Research shows, most nursery schools in Korea were open from Monday to Friday (80.4%) and the remaining nursery schools (19.6%) were open until Saturday either weekly or biweekly (Kim, ES et al., 2014). Regular curriculum based classes were commonly provided between 08.45 and 14.15 (based on the average hours), much shorter hours than day nurseries. However, since most nursery schools (90.7%) also operated after-nursery school classes and care classes, their average opening hours (10.4 hours) came close to the day nurseries (12.2 hours) (Lee, Lee, and Cho, 2014).

Although Day Nurseries and Nursery Schools operate as different institutions, the Acts governing their operations overlap. The Childcare Act (2020) is designed primarily to protect pre-school aged children and promote their education to become healthy society members. The Act also supports parents' economic and societal activities and general family well-being. Whereas, the Early Childhood Education Act (2017) belongs to the Framework Act on Education (2017) which decides the national rights, duties and (local) government responsibilities. It stipulates the regulations of the education system to provide whole-rounded education for preschool children (aged three to five). Notably, this act defined nursery as 'school' in all the articles. As day nurseries and

nursery Schools appeared to operate common curricula and similar operating hours, plans for integrating them were introduced in 2013 (Ministry of Health and Welfare, 2015a), which might contribute to improved accessibility and care quality. Despite a range of discussions and research, there is no progress as yet.

Out of School Hours Care (OSH).

After regular classes at school, children can use Out-of-School-Hour Service (henceforth 'OSH'). OSH programs operate at school or outside school, and these programs are mostly formal / public childcare, although some classes are operated for profit (Afterschool portal system, 2018). For this thesis, OSH service indicates "formal/informal childcare before and after school hours, either within or outside of the primary school" and refers only to primary school aged children. Although day nurseries can also offer OSH childcare as the Childcare Act (2017, article 27) states the acceptable age of up to 12 years.

Primary schools run OSH programs including educational-oriented and care-oriented programs under the Administrative rule of Elementary and Secondary Education Curriculum (No. 2013-7) (Ministry of Education, 2013). The vision for these OSH is realization of education welfare, reducing fees of private education, and enhancing school, and school's socialization within the community (Kim, MS 2006). The educational programs can include sessional programs such as English, math, or art. OSH classes provide extra education and care and is also consistent with school activities according to school plans (Ministry of Education, 2018, p.5). The care-oriented programs (similar to wraparound care in UK) can cover morning care class (07.00-09.00), afternoon care class (until 17.00) and evening care class (until 22.00). Due to the limited spaces and staff, those classes shall first accept children in school year 1

and 2 from low-income, single-parent or dual-earner families (Ministry of Education, 2014b).

For OSH offered outside schools there are three types (Table 3.2). Local child centres provide afterschool services regulated by the Child Welfare Act (2017, article 52).

Children of primary school age can use these which provide protection, education, sound play and entertainment (article 52). Local child centres are the comprehensive child welfare service and connect with parents and the community. Although the local centre's main project is supporting children from vulnerable families, recently, the roles of afterschool service have been increased and developed (Ministry of Health and Welfare, 2018). The Child Welfare Act (2017) is generic and covers all children up to age 18. It aims to provide a happy and safe childhood, which guarantees child welfare by government. It protects against discrimination on grounds of gender, age, religion social status, religion, disability, natal area, and race. For child's right and their welfare, this law ought to provide protection and support.

There are also, locally based youth centres ruled by the Framework Act on Juveniles (2017). The youth centre is available for older primary school children aged 9-12 years (school year 4 to 6). Again, children from vulnerable (e.g. low-income) families are given priority for registration (Ministry of Health and Welfare, 2015; Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 2015a). But the Act mainly decides youth's rights, duties and responsibility for home, society, (local) government and it stipulates basic youth policy. The basic ideology of the Act is that adolescents should receive the right treatment and have guaranteed rights and be protected from harmful environments. Whilst the law's age range of juveniles is 9-24 years old (article 3), primary school students (school year 4, 5, 6) can use youth centres. In terms of afterschool programmes, 'youth

after-school academy' has been usefully provided (article 48-2)(Ministry of Gender Equality and Family 2017).

i-dolbom service

The i-dolbom service covers all dependent children (0-12 years) under the i-dolbom Support Act (2016). The system is similar to childminders in UK in terms of registered providers supervised by a government agency, however the i-dolbom offers one-to-one care at the child's home (article 2), whereas childminders can provide care for several children in the childminders (Ofsted, 2016). The i-dolbom providers are dispatched by the government agency as long as the caregivers have completed coursework at designated institutions or they have appropriate certificates (e.g. nursery school teacher) (article 7). The i-dolbom Support Act (2016) stipulates the clauses of the i-dolbom project administered by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family. Local agencies (healthy family support centre) prioritise vulnerable or dual-earner families (article 13-2). This Act is designed to directly support dual-earner families and help with achieving a work-life balance. Under article 4, the (local) government needs to support parents' childcare responsibility. (Local) government can also support costs as long as the household gets low income (article 20). According to i-dolbom service (2018), the number of local services and i-dolbom caregivers have increased to meet the rising demands from dual-earner families.

In sum, policies regulating formal pre-school childcare (Childcare Act and Child welfare Act, and Early Childhood Act, and the i-dolbom Support Act) tend to mention children's parents and guarantee parents' socio-economic activities or well-being. This feature reflects that recent policy trends reflect not only child welfare but also family welfare. In particular, the Childcare Act directly mentions supporting mother's labour market participation as guiding social-economic activities. More specifically, the i-

dolbom Support Act (2016) revealed their one of policy aim is supporting family work-life balance. Hence, the policy direction addressed mother's employment interests as much as children's development. Alongside formal provision is informal childcare.

Informal Childcare:

Korea reliance on informal care is remarkably high among Asian countries and generally prefers home care, parental care or kin care. There are three common types in Korea: Grandmother care, *Hakwon* (means private education institutions in Korean) and baby-sitting.

Grandmother care

Regarding kinship care, most caregivers are grandmothers (95.7%) (MOHW and KICCE 2016). Lee, Kwon, and Kim (2015) from KICCE (Korea Institute Child Care and Education) investigated grandmother care for preschool children in Korea. In a single survey of 500 families with preschool aged children, they recruited one grandparent and one parent (94%, mothers) in each family. Accordingly, 1000 participants (500 pairs) were involved and 90 per cent of parent respondents were from dual-earner families. Though the survey aimed to explore grandparents care, it turned out the caregivers were mostly maternal grandmother (57%) or paternal grandmother (39%), and grandfathers were rarely involved in the childcare (less than 2% each). Thus, the title 'grandmother' was put in this section (not grandparents or kin).

Hakwon

Hakwon means private education institution in Korean. In this study, *Hakwon* is classified into informal childcare/education, because it is not registered by a government agency. *Hakwon* (henceforth, HW) is an important OSH service provided by private institutions with educational programs. It is regulated by the Act on the

Establishment, Operation of Private Teaching Institutes and Extracurricular lessons²⁴ (2019). In broad terms, HW tends to offer programs aiming either at academic learning (e.g. English) or hobbies (e.g. taekwondo). Given that most HW run academic courses (65.8%) and 21.6per cent of HW offer hobby activities (Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education, 2014), it seems that the high use of HW is concerned with not only covering parental working time, but also supplementing school education.

Baby-sitter

In this study, baby-sitter indicates "use of informal non-kinship caregiver". These could be domestic housekeeper's families employ. In 2017, baby sitters engaged in housekeeping and childcare was counted at 201,000 (Statistics Korea 2017).

These two broad categorisations of childcare as formal or informal can be further subdivided to give a more nuanced picture of the type of service by whether it is public or private. This will help set the context of what is available before considering the usage and satisfaction with these different types of provision.

Childcare services subdivided into Public/Private:

It helps to further distinguish the broad type of formal provision by whether it is publically or privately provided. For this thesis, the term 'public childcare' will mean 'national or public institution/care provider' and private is a service provided by individuals, or other kinds of organisations. For example, there are seven types of day nursery according to article 10 of the Childcare Act (2020) and these are divided by agent of establishment (individuals, government or organisations), but only one type is designated as a public day nursery. Home-based day nurseries are..... There are three types of nursery schools, two of which are public institutions that come under

메모 포함[cs1]: Please define these? How are they different from the nurseries run by workplaces, other corporations, and co-operatives?

²⁴ Since the title of Act is too long, it is generally called 'Act on Private teaching institute'.

the Early Childhood Education Act (2018) and these are often run by local government. The remaining nursery schools are private. The majority however, are all not-for-profit organisations, see Table 3.3 below.

메모 포함[cs2]: Mina define what you mean NFP? How does it differ from for profit and private fees?

Private nurseries were originally non-profit organizations until the private childcare market became more profit-seeking and state subsidised childcare was not so easily available. The government wanted to meet the increasing demand for childcare and therefore made private nurseries the main providers (Kim SJ, 2015) (although quality is lower than public provision). Importantly, whether they were profit seeking will depend on whether they had a delegator (the owner of the facility) or were run by a director. According to You and Kim (2011,p.1) some 43.7 per cent of day nurseries were run by delegators and if they sought profit, usually the care quality or public concern would decrease (You and Kim, 2011). In terms of OSH in public primary schools, the OSH programmes were a mixture of profit or non-profit. Whilst schools provide free public education, the care/education classes OSH are contracted out of free or non-free education. In OSH offered in other institutions outside of schools, such as those in local child centres, and youth academies, these are all state-subsided. The i-dolbom service is publically run and not for profit. Overall, therefore whilst there is a wide variety of both public and private childcare, the majority are non-profit seeking. Even so, taken as a whole, the majority of provision is still private because of the extent of Hakwon services (supply discussed in next section).

Table 3.3 Formal and informal childcare types by whether private or public provision

Public Childcare

Private Childcare

Public day nursery (NFP)	Private day nursery (NFP)
Public nursery school (NFP)	Home-based day nursery (NFP)
National nursery school (NFP)	Workplace day nursery (NFP)
	Social-welfare foundation day nursery (NFP)
OSH -Local child centre (NFP)	Non-profit corporation day nursery (NFP)
OSH - Youth centre (NFP)	Parents cooperative day nursery (NFP)
OSH - Afterschool education class (mixed)	Private nursery school (NFP)
OSH - Morning, Afternoon, Evening care class (mixed)	OSH - Hakwon (Private for profit)
ONSH - After (public) nursery school care class (NFP)	ONSH - After (private) nursery school care class
i-dolbom service (NFP)	Babysitting (Private for profit)
Customized childcare (e.g. 24 hours care) (NFP)	Grandmother (Private NFP)

NFP=Not for profit: Mixed = profit and NFP: Private = private fee for profit. OSH = Out of School care. ONSH = out of nursery school care

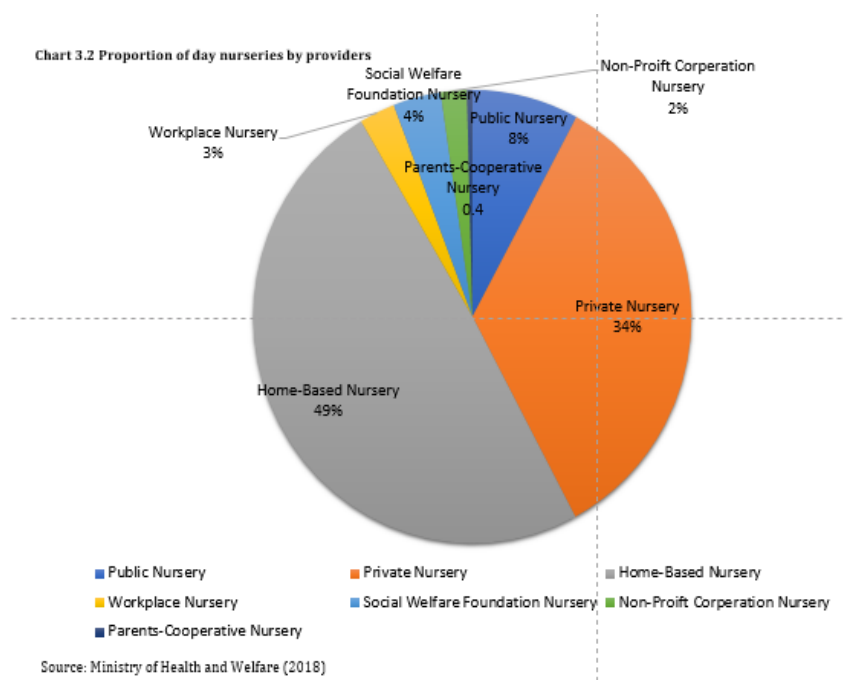
Source: Childcare Act (article 10, 26, 28), i-dolbom support Act (article 32-4), Child Welfare Act (article 48-4, 45-4, 56-2, 61-3) Framework Act on Juveniles (article 28-1), Framework Act on Education (article 9-2), Afterschool portal system (<https://www.afterschool.go.kr/job/profit.do>)

3.3 Supply and usage of formal childcare services

This next section provides a statistical overview of the supply of the types of childcare already discussed and the rates of usage among children by age group in Korea. Where possible the national statistics will be compared to OECD data.

Day Nurseries

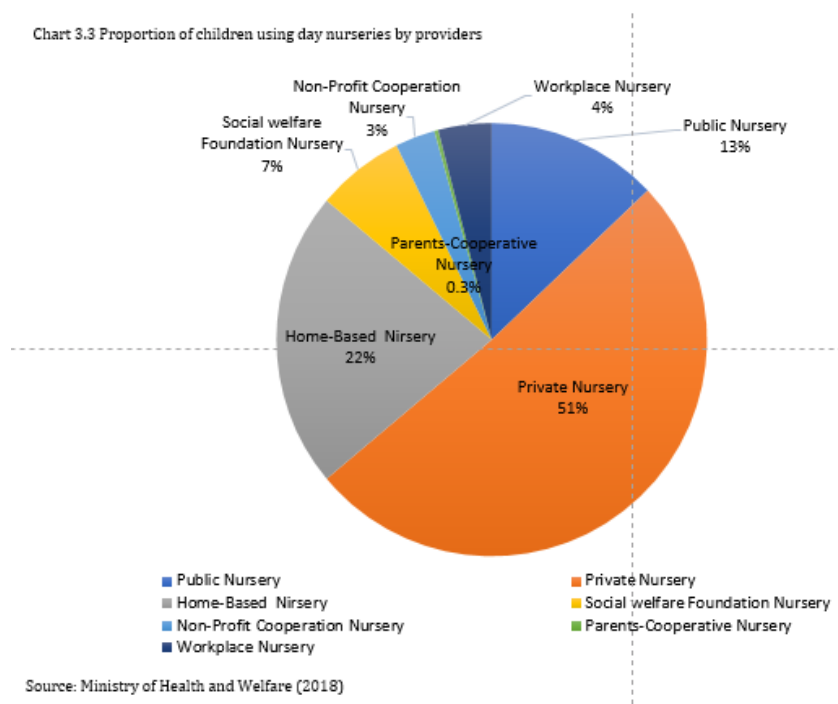
Chart 3.2 below shows that the proportion of public day nursery is just 8 per cent of all the nurseries, which means the rest are private-oriented facilities. However, public nurseries show a growing trend since 2013 (5.3%). It is also notable that half of nurseries were home-based nursery (49%) and a third (34%) were private nurseries. Workplace nurseries (3%) were not major providers, but it has increased as well (1.8% in 2016). When looking at the patterns of usage by the children using the nurseries, the picture differs which shows the variation in capacity across the providers (chart 3.3).



Among the children using nurseries (chart 3.3), more than half attended private day nursery (51%). On the other hand, home-based nurseries represented a low proportion of usage, just 22 per cent compared to the high proportion of the facilities (49%). This gap is related to the average capacity according to the type of nursery. According to Childcare Statistics (Ministry of Health and Welfare, 2018), while private nurseries accommodated 51 children on average, home-based nurseries had an average of 16 children. This is because home-based nursery is restricted to a maximum 20 children, whereas the capacity of other nurseries is permitted to be as high as 300 children. Likewise, children attending public day nursery showed a higher average rate (13%) in comparison to the relative proportion of this type of care provider (8%). This relates to the high capacity per nursery which accepted 60 children on average (Childcare Act,

2020). The nurseries and the services that they can offer are however also classified differently even under the same legislation.

Chart 3.3 Proportion of children using day nurseries by providers



Special childcare services (Customized care) in day nursery

In addition to the broad seven types described under article 10 of the Childcare Act (2017), this Act separately classified all nurseries according to the availability of special care services including 1) infant care only (for children under three years of age), 2) the care of disabled children, 3) care of children from multicultural families and 4) time-extended care (noted previously as 24 hour care). Table 3.12 describes the supply and usage of 1) to 4) types' nurseries. Of all nurseries, a very small proportion (1.2%) accepted infants only aged under three years old, but in terms of actual usage of this service (types 1-3), the registration rate of children attending was 81.5 per cent which showed similar rate of the average registration rate for all nurseries (82.6%) (Ministry

of Health and Welfare, 2018). Some mothers of infants might prefer this type of exclusive service of infant only provision (aged 0-3) given the low child-teacher ratio (4.9 on average) or relatively small capacity (34.4 children on average, per nursery) (Ministry of Health and Welfare, 2018).

In terms of time-extended care services, one-fifth of nurseries (20%) offered additional care hours after 19.30 and 8.4 per cent of enrolled-children regularly used the services (Ministry of Health and Welfare, 2018). There were only a small number of nurseries providing holiday care or 24-hour care which might be useful for exceptional events rather than regular use. While holiday nurseries open on every national holiday as a rule, the operating system of 24-hour care is slightly varied according to the provinces. For instance, Seoul city appointed some nurseries for 24-hour care, which can be used up to 8 days (in a row) per year (Choi, YG et al., 2015). Despite the expected usefulness of holiday care and 24-hour care, only a few nurseries (0.8% and 0.6% each) offered the services as table 3.12 shows.

Table 3.12 Special childcare services (Customized care) in day nursery

Day nursery for the purpose of		Contents of the services	Rate of nurseries	Rate of actual usage*
Infant's care		Exclusive service only for 0-2 years	1.2%	82%**
	Night	Extending care hours from 19.30 up to	20.5%	8.4%

Time	care	24.00		
Extended	Holiday	Opening on Sunday / (national)	0.8%	1.3%
Childcare	care	holidays		
	24-hour	Temporary care for 24 hours (short	0.6%	5.1%
	care	period)		

Source: Ministry of Health and Welfare (Ministry of Health and Welfare, 2018)

Note: *The proportion of children who actually used those services among the enrolled children in those nurseries.

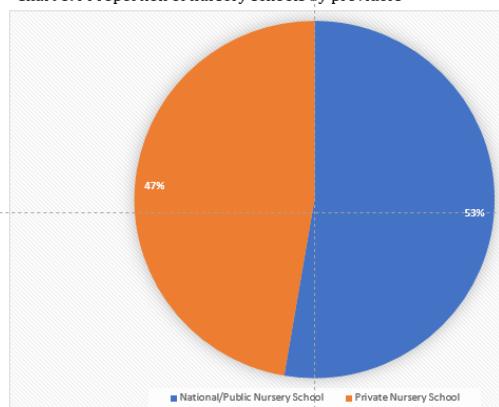
Note: **This figure is nearly the same as the enrolment rate of the facilities, because those nurseries accept only infants, while other services seem to largely include children who do not need the services as well.

Nursery Schools

As noted above, there are three broad types of nursery school (national, public or private). Regarding chart 3.4, since there are only three national nursery schools, the relevant data tend to integrate national with public nursery schools and this study also combine those data. Korean Educational Statistics Service (2017a) (henceforth, KESS) provides administrative data in terms of the supply and usage. Regarding the proportion of all the nursery schools (chart 3.4), national/public nursery schools show slightly greater provision (53%) than private nursery schools (47%) (KESS, 2017a). However, as shown in chart 3.5, the proportion of children attending private nursery schools (75%) is much higher than children using national/public nursery schools (25%) (KESS 2017b). It seems that private nursery schools tend to be managed on a larger scale than others. For example, private nursery schools operated a total 26,075 classes,

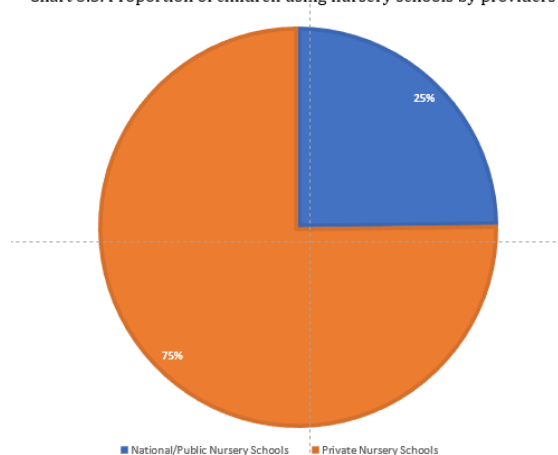
which is much higher than the total classes of public nursery schools (10,380 classes) and national nursery schools (15 classes) (KESS 2017c). Thus, the public care seems to be limited due to the supply.

Chart 3.4 Proportion of nursery schools by providers



Source: Korean Educational Statistics Service (KESS) (2017a).

Chart 3.5. Proportion of children using nursery schools by providers



Source: Korean Educational Statistics Service (KESS) (2017b).

Concerning the operating times of nursery schools, most of the national/ public nursery schools (64%) closed between 17.00 and 19.00, while half of private nursery schools (44%) closed after 19.00 (Ministry of Education, 2014c). On the other hand, 'all-

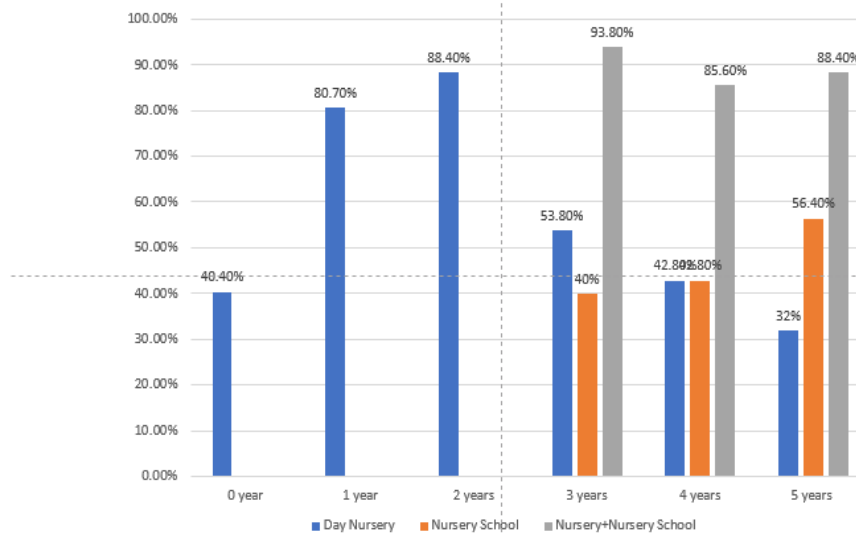
day care classes' which cover hours outside of regular education classes provided in the morning or afternoon were rarely operated by any of the three providers: both the national / public nursery schools (morning class: 3.2%, Evening class: 3.7%) and private nursery schools (morning class: 5.2%, Evening class: 7.7%) (Choi, Lee, and Oh, 2014). According to a survey of nursery schools directors, the reasons for operating the classes included; supporting dual-earner families /low-income families (51.1%), parents' requirements (29.3%), government's recommendation (12%), and for enrolling enough children (7.5%) (Yang, Bae, and Kim, 2015). There was no data found in terms of children's actual usage rates.

Overall enrolment rates in preschool institutions among the total child population

Based on the year 2017, chart 3.6 shows that 69.8 per cent of infants (aged 0-2 years) attended day nurseries, with the numbers increasing sharply from aged 0-year-old (40.4%) to 2-year-olds (88.4%). Noticeably, it is almost twice as high as the enrolment rate of 0-2 years in OECD countries at 32.8per cent (OECD, 2016). Chart 3.6 also shows how the usage of day nurseries decreased as children reached aged 3 and moved to attend nursery schools. Regardless of the types of institutions, the total enrolment rate in day nursery/ nursery school is about 90 per cent of registrations for 3 to 5 years olds, making pre-school education nearly universal (MOHW, 2018; Korea Statistics, 2017). This rate is slightly higher than the OECD average participation rate in 'formal care' (3 to 5-year-olds, 83.8%) (OECD, 2016).

For older children aged between 6 and 12, they will be in full-time school and as reported earlier in this chapter, there is a range of OSH care options for that age group and the statistics on those are now presented.

Chart 3.6 Enrolment rates in formal preschool institutions by child's age



Source: Ministry of Health and Welfare (2018), Korea Statistics (2017)
 Note: The Enrolment rate in comparison to whole population at each age

Out of School-Hour Childcare

School children seem to have more diverse options for OSH care, though overall participation rates in school based programs is much lower than for preschool children. To understand proportions attending each program, demographic statistics were used along with population statistics for children aged between 6 and 12 (KESS 2017).

Table 3.13 shows that most schools run an afterschool education class (99%) and this was the most common type of formal care used by primary school aged children, with 67.4 per cent of children attending at least once per week (Ministry of Education, 2018). Students tended to join programs immediately after the regular school classes finished (Yoo, HJ et al., 2014). For the education-oriented classes, the curriculums included two broad types, either based on core academic subjects (e.g. mathematics,

English= 26.7%) or other activities (e.g. music, arts = 73.3%) (Ministry of Education, 2018). In terms of satisfaction, students (87.4%) and parents (83.7%) were highly satisfied with afterschool academic education class (Ministry of Education, 2018). Regarding the care based classes, primary schools tended to operate the same types²⁵ but under different names such as care-class or all-day class, they are combined here as simply care classes provided outside of ordinary school times.

In terms of afternoon care classes (operating from the end of the school day until 17.00), even though every primary school operated a program, only 8.1 per cent of all students used it. Evening care classes (17.00-22.00) were operated by a much smaller number of schools (30.9%) and only a very small proportion of students (0.7%) used it (Ministry of Education, 2014b). Morning care class on the other hand was provided by only 23.4 per cent of all primary schools (Ministry of Education, 2014b), and there was no data about the number of registered students. Like education class's high satisfaction rate some 83.7 per cent of parents and 87.4 per cent of students had very high satisfaction scores (95.7% or above). So overall, there was a much greater use of educational based OSH classes, than simply care classes.

Table 3.13 Three types of OSH provisions at school (outside school hours)

Time \ Type	Morning Care (7am-9am)	Formal Education (9am-1, 2 pm)	Afternoon care (-5pm)	Evening care (5pm-10pm)
Afterschool			Schools*:	

²⁵ According to the Administrative rule of Elementary and Secondary Education Curriculum (No. 2013-7) (Ministry of Education, 2013).

Education class		Compulsory Education at School	99.8%	
			Students**:64.7%	
Care class	No Data (local data only)		Schools: 99.3% Students: 9%	Schools: 26.5% Students: 0.47%

Source: Ministry of Education (2017), Ministry of Education (2018), KESS (2017)

Note*: The proportion of primary schools operating Education / Care classes

Note **: The proportion of primary school students using the Education / Care classes

Other organisations also provide some OSH care services for primary school aged children: 0.67 per cent of day nurseries accommodated 15.5 per cent of school aged children among the registered children (Ministry of Health and Welfare, 2018). School children attending day nurseries were 0.1 per cent of whole population aged 6-12 years. Meanwhile, 4,107 Local child centres provided afterschool care for 82,140 primary school students (3% of all primary school students) (Ministry of Health and Welfare and Headquarters for Community Child Centre, 2018). These centres mainly focused on providing welfare and protecting children in crisis. Some youth centres (185) also operated afterschool academies for school students in years 4-6 (Statistics Korea, 2017), but there is no data in terms of registration/usage rate. Both local child centres and youth centres are mainly public non-profit facilities.

The statistics show schools were key providers of OSH and that the majority of children attended after school at least once per week, with most taking up an academic type class. What is unknown from these statistics is how many nights or mornings per week children attended OSH run by schools. So there is no holistic

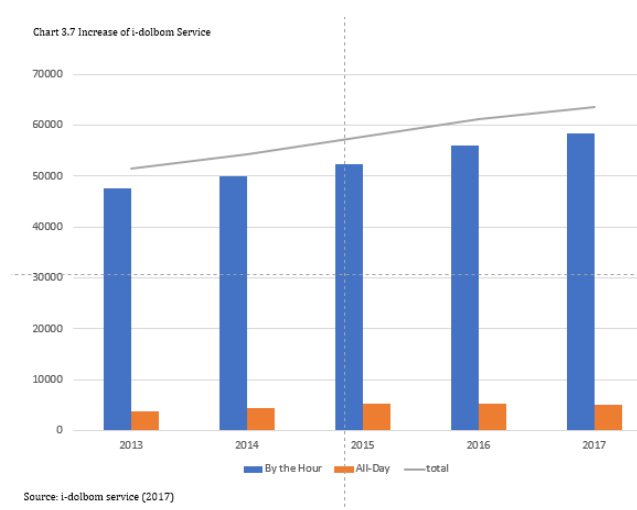
picture available from the perspective of families and their total use of childcare. The i-dolbom Service is another type publically provided childcare that families can use in a variety of ways and is more flexible than school provided OSH.

i-dolbom Service

i-dolbom Service is an in-home childcare service provided for children under 12 years of age and is normally aimed at dual-earner families (or other vulnerable families). There are three kinds of services (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2015), the first is hired by the hour. It is a comprehensive service, providing care and play activities, preparation of meals and housekeeping. The second is an all-day service (Nursery teacher type of service) and covers infants aged 3 months to 24 months. Caregivers provide 'infant standard childcare program service', which includes health, nutrition, hygiene, and education. The third type dispatches caregivers to institutions requiring play assistant roles. Finally, another specialist service is to look after a child with an infectious disease. Caregivers accompany a child to a hospital and take care of the child at home. The cost of the i-dolbom service is inexpensive as it is subsidised by governmental, and charges are graded according to household income. Especially lower-income families can use the service almost for free. Based on whole population, usage rate of i-dolbom is 6.3 per cent (care service by the hour) and 4.4 per cent (all-day care service for infants). Satisfaction of the services is each 70.2% and 68% (MOHW and KICCE 2016).

The ministry concerned with the i-dolbom project had not provided any national survey data early on and there has been still a lack of research sources at the national level (Jang, CS 2014; Kim, Lee and Choi 2014). This is mainly because i-dolbom services tend to be managed by local healthy family support centres. Instead, there is local government data which report the business results and promotion plans. This is used

here to gauge national level provision. Seoul government (2015) revealed that 50,115 families used i-dolbom services in 2014, which showed an increase of 19 per cent in comparison with the previous year (2013). However, there were 247 families on the waiting list due to high demands at specific times (Seoul Government, 2015). The grounds for the high demands could be found from the local statistics. Accordingly, Government has tried to increase the service supply. In chart 3.7, national statistics estimates the i-dolbom supply increased.



The Healthy family support centre (2015) provided some more local information about registration rates and the proportion of age groups using the services. They noted that 34 per cent of children aged between 0-2 years old used the service as did 35 per cent of children aged between 6-8 years, whereas, only 7.9 per cent of older children between the ages of 9- 12 years used it. Thus, the majority of service users were preschool children (68.4%).

Other evidence provided locally, report the reasons for usage. For instance, one district in Seoul (*Gangbuk-Gu*) reported that the main reason for using the service was due to covering parents' working hours (75%), and the burden of childcare (18.2%) was the second main reason. The peak times of usage was between 17.00 and 19.00 (23.9%) but there were also a smaller group (15.3%) who used the service over night from 17.00 to 8.00 (the next day) (Healthy family support centre, 2014). Given that this is a formal childcare service at home, i-dolbom project seems to fill the gaps in institutional care such as providing care at atypical times (e.g. early morning and late evening). However, other informal alternatives such as *Hakwon*, act as a private alternative to public school OSH and are substantial providers of care.

3.4 Informal childcare usage

Private Hakwon

Hakwon are a common private institution, but are very varied and are therefore difficult to map. Two specific types are however regulated by the Act on the Establishment, Operation of Private Teaching Institutes and Extracurricular lessons – these are preschool services providing private lessons in English (named here as English kindergarten following the descriptor used by Byun, Jung and Ahn, 2018) and others providing private education for school-aged children. The previous government had announced mandatory English class at primary school (Yi and Yang, 2009) and this has been a turning point in increasing interest in the English kindergarten market provided by HW. In Korea, the private education market for pre-school and primary school children is very strong, worth £109,411,764,706 in 2017.

A study by Byun, Jung and Ahn (2018) explored the experience of parents sending children to English kindergarten (they coined this term even though it is not a legal

definition). They found that the key factors that influenced their use included: higher education level of parents, higher household incomes, having a more detailed plan to send children to international school and special purpose high school than other parents not using English kindergartens. The English kindergartens had their own curriculums, with one Korean teacher and one English native speaker teacher commonly in a class. Many parents using the kindergarten have a long-term plan to send the child to international middle school or special-purpose high school (e.g. foreign language high school or science high school) (Byun, Jung and Ahn, 2018). That is, parents seem to want an elite course and the English kindergarten was regarded as a starting point. This type of HW thus plays a role as an elite class reproduction or possibility for class mobility. In the long term, this phenomenon can be a reason of making a gap between the rich and the poor.

In relation to use of HW among all primary school children, Korean statistics (2018) show about 70 per cent participated in private education at Hakwon or private lessons at home. They typically received 6.1 hours of education per week on top of public schooling (Statistics Korea, 2017). Regarding subjects studied, academic subjects surpassed art, music and physical education. Among the academic subjects, mathematics and English overwhelmingly made up the highest total amount of the education market (Statistics Korea, 2018). It could be because these are the most crucial subjects for university entrance and are too difficult to pass by depending only on public education or self-study.

In terms of other evidence on the extent of use of HW, Yoo, HJ et al. (2014) conducted a survey targeting 5,209 working mothers with children aged below 12 years. They found that 24.3 per cent of preschool children (aged 3-5) attended a HW which was

mainly used after finishing time of the day nursery or nursery school (Yoo, HJ et al., 2014). Like HW for school aged children, they also included activity programs for the pre-school aged children (e.g. play schools, culture centres). Yoo, HJ et al. (2014) also found that HW was just one of multiple types of childcare services used by working mothers. Most mothers with primary school aged children used more than three types of childcare; some 34 per cent used three types, 46 per cent used four types and 17 per cent used as much as five types (discussed in detail in chapter four). Of these, the most common childcare type was HW (77.1%), followed by afterschool education class at school (28.2%) and finally care classes at school (11.6%) (Multiple answers). HW typically covered a much broader range of times from 07.00 to 22.00 than formal public childcare, and about half of children finished the HW between 16.00 and 18.00. The usage of HW dramatically increased in the hours after school at around 14.00. Whereas, the use of in-home care (by parents or other adults) sharply increased after 18.00.

Overall, Yoo, HJ et al., (2014) survey results showed that HW played a main role in care outside of formal preschool care hours as well as OSH childcare. Meanwhile, they also found that 4.3 per cent of school children (regularly) stayed at home by themselves (Yoo, HJ et al., 2014). Between 16:30 and 19:00 hours, between 10 to 36 per cent of primary school children were alone at home, and the percentage was higher in low-income families. Yoo, HJ et al. (2014) asserted that a childcare demand survey should be carried out by public authorities in order to collect more accurate information. This was one of the reasons the government launched the i-dolbom project (discussed later), to reduce the numbers of 'key child' (latchkey child) at home alone (Hong, Kim, and Sun, 2013). Grandmothers also had a role to play in providing informal care.

Grandmother care

Lee, Kwon, and Kim (2015) from KICCE (Korea Institute Child Care and Education) investigated grandmother care for preschool children in Korea. In a single survey of 500 families with preschool aged children, they recruited one grandparent and one parent (94%, mothers) in each family. They found that, one grandmother took care of 1.15 children, mostly in dual-earner families (90%) and 43 per cent of children were fully cared for by grandmothers without attending other facilities, which seems to be related to young age of respondent's children: 28.8 months on average (Lee, Kwon, and Kim, 2015). Most grandparents lived separately from the child's home (79%), although they cared for the children either at the child's home (46%) or their own home (54%). Among the children cared for by grandmothers, the numbers using another institution was 72.8 per which was much more than for children cared only by their grandmothers (23.8%). While grandmother care was the most common informal/private care for preschool-aged children, *Hakwon* was the most common for school aged children for the purpose of profit. Babysitters on the other hand, tended to provide in home care, but the extent of this provision is difficult to measure.

Babysitter

Non-kinship caregivers are defined as 'baby sitters' regardless of whether they also provide housekeeping support. In 2017, some 201,000 babysitters were engaged in housekeeping and in childcare (Statistics Korea 2017). Service hours were commonly after a child's dismissal from institution to parents' arrival at home (47.6%). 30.5 per cent of families used the care from the time before parents go to work in the morning to parents' arrival at home in the evening. Average service was for 20.5 hours per week; infants (25.9 hours) and older preschool children (18.6 hours). Sitters were reliable, with 59.7 per cent of mothers saying their sitter is almost never absent from work. If they were absent, parents got help from a neighbour (44.7%) or used i-

dolbom service by the hour (42%). All sitters were paid with the majority (94.7%) receiving regularly payments (MOHW and KICCE 2016) showing that they were an informal, but a private paid service. Many babysitters came from migrant Chinese-Korean backgrounds and provided housekeeping as well as care services and this could present difficulties for families (lack of childcare skills, growing too attached to the child, introducing a different language dialect to the child) and for carers (poor working conditions) (Son and Lee 2011). Since Korea is a single-race nation, people generally show negative attitude towards migrants (Lee, HC 2018). The quality of this service is unregulated.

So far the chapter has tried to map out the types of formal childcare provision available in Korea and the rates of usage from a range of statics and surveys. Now the evidence will be reviewed on the quality of such provision, parent's satisfaction with services and the costs, beginning with costs and affordability.

3.5 Costs and affordability

Chart 3.1 shows a map of childcare costs for children aged 0-12, divided by whether pre-school age or primary school age. Looking at the pre-school age group first, according to the Enforcement ordinance of Childcare Act (2019, Article 22), infant care (age 0-2) in a day nursery is also free of charge. For children aged three to five, nursery care is free which are commonly conducted in both of day nurseries and nursery schools. In reality however the costs of using these services are not entirely free because there are often 'special activity programmes' that have to be paid for (see Diagram 1.3) – costing an average of £36 per month. Children participated in 2.4 programmes on average. The largest percentage of children was involved in three

programmes (19.5%). Fewer participated in two activities (13.2%), or four (13%). (MOHW and KICCE 2016). When asked about the most important program, mothers answered physical education (30.9%), English (25.6%), and art (13%). (MOHW and KICCE 2016). In addition, parents would have to pay for any 'customised usage' (such as 24 hour care) and this would cost between £129- £202 per month depending on the child's age (MOHW, 2018).

In a survey of parents about day nursery and nursery schools conducted by (MOHW and KICCE 2016), the respondents were generally satisfied with staff, facility, service, and cost (84.1%). They were most pleased with the teacher (86%), nursery director (83.6%), inner environment (81.8%), curriculum (81.3%) and safety management (80%). Mothers stated that the facility made childcare easier (91.7%) and improved their job efficiency (90.3%). It was also possible for them to start or look for a job (89.8%), and spend time on leisure/hobby (86.6%). When asked about five years of free childcare, 52.5 per cent of respondents were satisfied and 47.5% of respondents were satisfied with the childcare allowance. The most desired childcare support policy from the government was improving quality of the facilities (26.6%), increasing the number of public nurseries (23.3%), increasing childcare cash benefits (19.5%), parental leave and income guarantee (9%), and the increasing childcare allowance (8%) (MOHW and KICCE 2016). Even so, the 'free nursery care' partly explains why formal care is less expensive than informal care (shown in middle boxes in Chart 3.1).

With respect to school aged children and formal care (see right hand side of Chart 3.1), they can attend an Education/ Care class in or outside school (OSH). The cost of formal OSH seems to be reasonable (£24- £54 per month) or between £27 and £38 if using a public local child centre or youth centre. But often families will use private

care and education services too which can cover both school age and pre-school age. These are shown in the centre two boxes of chart 3.1 and are Grandmother care, babysitting and Hakwon (i-dolbom service is also shown here, but is a public run service). Using a private learning centre (HW) tends to cost considerably more than public OSH (average cost of using one HW service is £185 a month). In a nationwide survey however, the actual average monthly costs incurred by parents for private education was £136 per child (Statistics Korea, 2015d).

Chart 3.1 Mapping monthly costs of Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC) provision in Korea

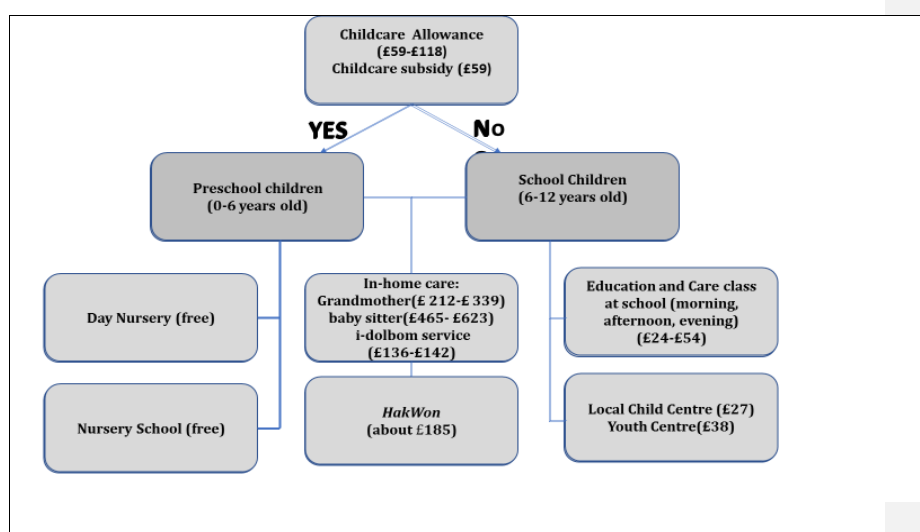
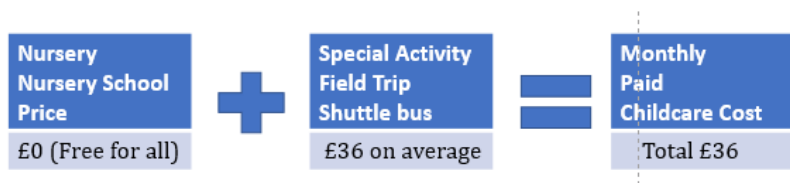


Diagram 3.1 Free childcare services for pre-school age and extra costs monthly paid



Source: Reconstructed from MOHW and KICCE (2016)

Paid grandmother care

Grandmother care is quite common in Korea and is usually paid by parents. According to studies by MOHW and KICCE (2016) grandmother care hours (per week) averaged 42.53 hours over 5.25 days, which is even longer than the standard 40-hour workweek.²⁶ Since full-time care was most common, 50 per cent of mothers paid grandmothers a regular amount, 28 per cent paid irregular fees and 22 per cent did not pay any cash. Nearly all non-employed mothers (94.7%) did not pay cash (MOHW and KICCE 2016). According to 53 per cent of the grandmothers, the main reason for the non-payment for childcare was to help the child's family to become economically stable as soon as possible. The unique characteristics of Korean grandmother care are usually (highly) paid, regular, long-time care covering atypical times and so on. Grandmother care is notably more expensive than formal childcare in an institution (day nursery) or at home (i-dolbom).

Private baby sitter care is the most expensive of all (about £465-£623 depending on child's age) and mothers need to pay according to market price. To overcome the high

²⁶ Article 50 of the Labour Standard Act

cost and low reliance on this kind of private care, government took action implementing the public 'i-dolbom project'. It is much less expensive at around £136-£140 per month depending on child's age.

Childcare Allowance and Childcare Subsidy

Chart 3.1 also shows the values of the childcare allowance and the childcare subsidy. These are a complex combination of cash benefits and can also be known as child benefit or child allowance. Since the Korea National Law Information Centre (English version website) most frequently uses the term 'childcare subsidy', this is the term used here. This cash benefit is important, because it can be used for children's nutrition, protection and enrichment (UNICEF, 2017). But we discuss the childcare allowance first.

The childcare allowance system started in 2009 and offers cash for the support of children up to the age of five graded by household income. But since 2013, it has been differentially supported by government according to child's age (worth between £59 - £118 per month) and household income has now been excluded. Importantly, parents of children under five must choose either a nursery for free, or accept the allowance. Low-income families tended to accept the allowance, especially if they found it difficult to access nursery care. There have been many attempts to increase governmental responsibility for children, including expansion of parents' choice, expanded scope of childcare services, support for women's work-life balance, and improving the quality of childcare and education through a childcare allowance (Jeon, YJ 2017). However, it was not effective for women's employment (Han, YS 2014). The

childcare allowance assumes that at least one parent (typically the mother) will stay at home with a child. It therefore reinforces traditional gender roles and the traditional division of childcare (Jeon, YJ 2017). But this conflicted with relevant policy²⁷ aims which supported parents' socio-economic activities (e.g. Childcare Act). With the expansion of free childcare (e.g., free nursery), the discussion of the childcare allowance has received less attention. Nevertheless, supporters of the childcare allowance outnumber its opponents. The opponents are people who support gender equality in the provision of childcare (Lee, JS 2017; Song, DY 2012; Song, DY, 2010).

The childcare subsidy in contrast, is really a cash benefit for supporting parents with the job of childrearing, rather than acting as a subsidy to reduce the costs of childcare. According to the subsidy's official website (ihappy²⁸, 2018), a childcare subsidy system has been in place in most OECD countries (except for U.S.A Turkey, and Mexico) for a long time. For example, the UK started it in 1945 and Japan in 1972. In Korea, since the state-subsidy was not introduced, child-related public expenditure of GDP was only 1.1 per cent. It is only half of OECD average (2.1%). Especially, cash benefits for children were 0.2 per cent, which is one-sixth of OECD average. In December 2017, Korea's National Assembly approved the childcare subsidy and increased the budget by 15 per cent. According to Yoon, SJ (2017), the first childcare subsidy was proposed by the Ministry of Health and Welfare in 2017. This policy is the first legislation to guarantee a basic standard of living. It is a nearly universal welfare benefit, beginning with childcare. The system reflects the special characteristics of children from a social welfare perspective (Yoon, SJ, 2017). The Act on Childcare Subsidy (2019) would reduce the financial burden of child-rearing cost within healthy environment,

²⁷Example: Act on Childcare (2017) encourages parents' economic and social activities.

²⁸ Regarding pronunciation, 'l [ai]' means a child. It is same 'i' with 'i-dolbom's 'i'.

protecting children's basic rights and welfare. From September 2018, it would be provided for two or more family members in the bottom 70 per cent income group (Go, JI 2018). Since September 2018, Korea's childcare subsidy system has been taken effect. This act cannot be useful by itself. It should be connected with existing policies for success (Lee, EH 2019). The childcare subsidy is the most important part of the social security system, requiring expansion of the cost and beneficiaries.

In sum, for a long time public childcare was limited to children from vulnerable families and was heavily criticised for being inequitable (Shin, Jung, and Kim, 2010). Nowadays (the year of 2019), since nursery and nursery school service is provided for free (almost), preschool childcare accomplished universal affordability, whereas previously purchasing power decided care quality, accessibility, heavy dependence on market, increase of childcare fee, limited accessibility, availability and care quality. But problems remain, many local government appeals shortages of budget for the free service, and care quality and teacher's treatment are still not resolved yet. The next section will look at parental experience of using childcare and the issue of quality.

3.6 Experience of using childcare and childcare quality

In terms of preschool childcare, Yoo, Bae, and Kim (2014) analysed the use of childcare-related policies to suggest ideas for improving the provisions. Given the characteristics of publisher (KICCE²⁹), the analysis focused on formal childcare provisions, but they also explored usage of family-friendly policies for working mothers such as leave systems and reduction of working hours. They conducted online survey research targeting and 1,045 mothers and 62 per cent of whom were working mothers.

²⁹ KICCE is the abbreviation of Korean Institute Child Care and Education. This is one of the national research institutes under prime minister's office. They mainly study in terms of policy developments for childcare and childhood education.

Regarding the first time enrolling either at day nursery or nursery school, children with working mothers (aged 22 months) were enrolled earlier than children with non-working mothers (aged 27 months), which implies the dependence on formal childcare service for mothers' paid work. More practically, the relief from childcare cost was the source of greatest satisfaction (74%), but service quality was the source of the least (38%). Working mothers answered that the hardest challenge for rearing child was the scarcity of quality facilities (47%), which was higher than the answers by non-working mothers (38%). Therefore, the provision of quality care was the most popular answer among all respondents to the question of the most urgent policy task for improving childcare. Regarding important factors for childcare quality, Yoo, Bae, and Kim (2014) suggested nine factors and mothers selected one among the five-scales of importance. According to the average point in order, the results were as follows; teachers' quality (4.63), safety (4.61), teacher-child ratio (4.58), quality of curriculum (4.48), hygiene (4.45), facility quality (4.15), parents' participation (3.94), quality of teaching materials (3.93), association with education policy (3.76). Overall, it seems that teacher is more important factor than other physical conditions. Accordingly, Yoo, Bae, and Kim (2014) asserted that increasing teachers' professionalism and decreasing child-teacher ratio are important tasks. Evidence shows that quality also varies by whether public or private provision.

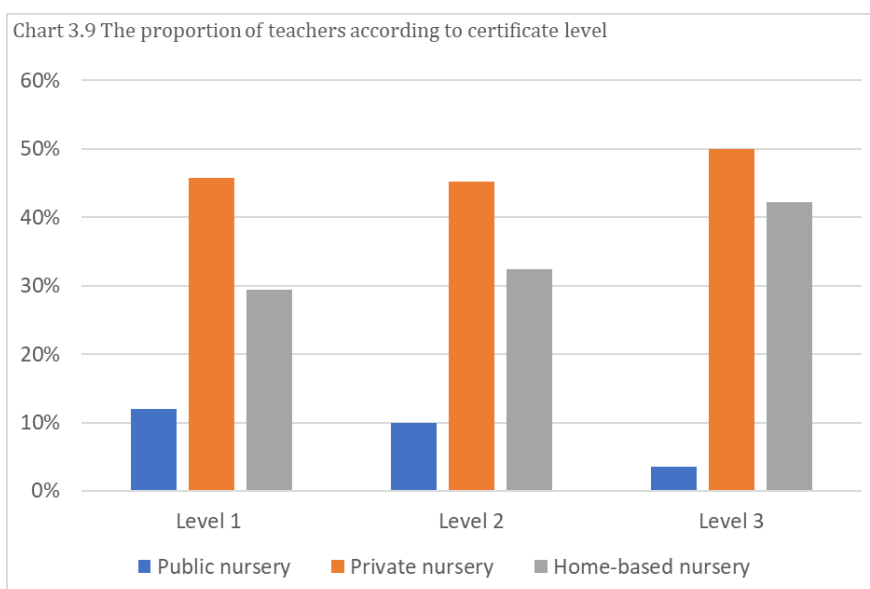
Lee and Jeong, (2013) compared childcare delivery system and its influence between public and private care facilities in capital Seoul. Of seven types of nurseries, six nurseries were combined as 'private nursery' and remaining one public nursery was compared with those six nurseries. They gauged performance of service's quality and effectiveness. Regarding general characteristics of respondents, considerable factors of public nursery teachers positively showed higher results (more positive) than private

nursery teachers; more ages, higher education level, more employment experience, less overtime and working hours, more teachers and staff, more average number of children, better teacher-child ratio, more 'accreditation system'(passed). In this way, quality of public nursery teacher was higher than private nursery teacher. The statistics from the Ministry of Health and Welfare (2018) on the professionalization of nursery teachers supports this analysis of Seoul and shows the current situation and the differences between public and private nursery provision, shown in chart 3.9 below.

Chart 3.9 shows where the qualified teachers are employed. Nursery teacher certificate is distinguished level 1, level 2 and level 3. Level 1 is the highest grade and level 3 is the lowest grade. Level 1 and level 2 usually can be acquired at the university or college that teachers attended for three to four years. On the other hand, Level 3 can be qualified if people attend Nursery teacher training centre for one year. This certificate level is often mentioned when researchers discuss quality of care and quality of teacher. According to chart 3.9, private nursery presents even spread from level 1 to 3. Since the proportion of facilities are very high, private nursery tends to employ many teachers. However, public nursery shows low percentage of teachers. However, more level 1 teachers work at the public nursery than level 2 or level three. Home-based nursery can accommodate maximum 20 children and the chart shows they tend to employ level 3 teachers. There are many evidences that level 3 teachers are not fully qualified and require further education (Kim, Kim and Lee 2016; Lee, JH 2011). Through increasing professionalization, increasing care quality will be realized.

To increase childcare teacher's performance, welfare, treatment, childcare environment should be consistently improved (Jang and Lee, 2018). Job stress can be relieved by

providing enough wage and well treatment. Song, SH (2012) analysed the influence of job stress on job satisfaction. Among the variables of job stress, childcare activity and wage showed meaningful effect. The influence of reasonable wage and its satisfaction helpful for employing highly competent teacher and their consistent working commitment (Park and Seok, 2017). Low wage drops sense of accomplishment and latent complain, in the end, causes job dissatisfaction and turnover (Kim, Lee and Kim, 2014). High level of care quality comes from highly qualified teacher. Thus, social support and concern for teacher's treatment is required.



Source Chart 3.9 : Ministry of Health and Welfare (2018)

As mentioned above, quality of teacher is the core factor impacting on general quality of childcare centres. Parents generally preferred to use public nursery to private

nursery because of the higher quality of provision. In that sense, increasing both public day nursery and public nursery school needs to be promoted, which have been evaluated better care/education quality and better teacher quality than private institutions (Kim, Lee and Choi 2014; Yoo, Bae, and Kim 2014; Yoo, HJ et al.,2014). Yet public nursery shows low rate of provision (facilities: 8%, children attending 13%) and nursery school also has much lower numbers of children attending national/pubic nursery schools (facilities: 53%, children:25%).

The improvement of childcare quality is also required for meeting various demands, especially for dual earner families. According to Kim, Lee and Choi (2014), childcare policies have failed to meet the special needs of dual-earner families. In terms of giving priority to registration, dual-earner families were not fully considered in public day nurseries that had long waiting lists. Above all, care hours are important to working mothers. However, many institutions actually tended to cover shorter time periods than legally stated times or desired time periods by mothers, which required additional in-home care arrangements to cover working hours. Even although i-dolbom service offers high-quality and flexible care hours, there are not enough supplies for dual-earner parents. Therefore, given working mothers' dependence on institutional care, Kim, Lee and Choi (2014) claimed that improvements in childcare infrastructure should be promoted along with actual needs of working mothers and their dependence on formal care.

On the whole, problems with preschool childcare could not meet dual-earner families' needs in terms of operating hours and quality. Especially, three effectiveness factors accessibility, affordability and quality of services cannot be delivered well to policy targets. Quality institutions (e.g. public nursery, public nursery school) are limited and not easily accessible; those institutions cannot accommodate all the children who want

quality care. Accordingly, quality nursery has a waiting list for accepting children. As soon as there is a space, the child's parent on the waiting list immediately enrol in the new nursery, expecting better quality than previous public nursery (school). To resolve this problem, Korean government started increasing quality through accreditation. The government enforced 'Nursery evaluative accreditation system', 'Public-type nursery accreditation system', and 'Seoul-type nursery accreditation system'. All the nurseries can get the accreditation as long as getting good results after meeting particular standards. Regarding the effectiveness of the system, according to Woo et. Al.,(2014) (who studied the influence of nursery evaluative accreditation system on waiting demands) the result was meaningful that there was policy effectiveness. Accredited nursery showed 45% higher number of waiting parents than non-accredited nursery. That is, the system is recognized as guarantee of quality (teacher, facility, curriculum, interaction between teacher and child, teacher-child ratio and so on). The phenomenon of nursery waiting list is one of the important issues reflecting parents' wish of quality childcare. Moon and Yi (2015) explored public nursery and public-typed accredited nursery. As a result, rather, parents using public-typed accredited nursery showed higher satisfaction than public nursery. Instead, it is important to increase the quality of 90 per cent of private nurseries at the level of public nursery. If the number of good quality's nursery is easily accessible, there will be no need a waiting list in the public nursery. We now discuss childcare for school-aged children.

OSH is the most important provision for school aged children, but there is a lack of care providers. Since education has been provided in school and in HW, this part will concentrate on care-oriented OSH services. Yoo, HJ et al. (2014) who surveyed 5,209 working mothers of school children (64%) identified serious problems with school children's care. They analysed enrolment rates for OSH at school (care class) and OSH

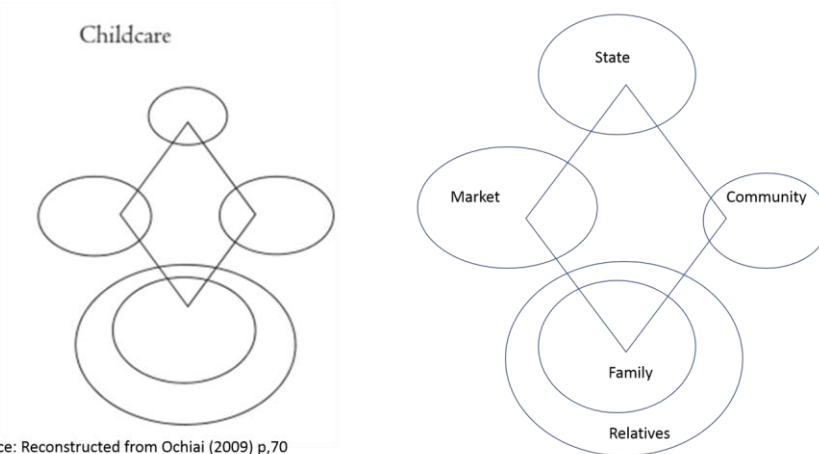
outside school (local child centre). As a result, only 14 per cent of the school-age population used those services. For this, they highlighted the necessity for increased funding, because more than 60,000 classes (based on 20 children in a class) are needed to accommodate at least 50 per cent of total children (Currently, general classes total 120,151). Women in low education level show low labour market participation.

3.7 Policy discussion

The childcare service delivery system generally shows low accessibility, duplication of efforts, separated relevant departments, and blind spot of service (You, Yang and Song, 2012; Gang and Lee 2015). For improvements, we need to focus on diverse childcare support service (defined as community childcare service), and relevant service delivery system should be improved for cooperation. Regarding the importance of community childcare service, a Japanese scholar, Ochiai (2009) created interesting conceptual framework called 'care diamond', targeting at six East Asian countries including Korea. She connected family sociology (micro level)—welfare sociology (macro level)—child (elderly) care—market—community. In here, elderly care will not be discussed considering the research topic. The diamond plots the relationship between the state, family, market and community or voluntary sector responsibility to show their relative importance. Diagram 3.3 adopts that diamond and updates it from Ochiai's original in 2009 (p.68). Ochiai had adapted the care triangle by Esping Anderson (cited in Ochiai, 2009, p.68), especially in creating a new alternative theoretical model by adding a variable 'community'. Ochiai (2009) compared six countries and found there are many differences in each country and the shape of the care diamond is completely different each other in every nation. The care diamond seems to be easy to understand complex issues, and the changes of shape by social

transitions are also good idea (Ochiai, 2009). Thus, diagram 3.3 shows changed diamond in Korea over the 10 years.

Diagram 3.3 Care diamond in Korea, comparing 2009 and 2018



Source: Reconstructed from Ochiai (2009) p,70

Source: Copied from Ochiai (2009) p. 69-70

Diagram 3.3 shows Korea's two care diamonds. According to Ochiai (2009), constructing social networks for childcare is important for reconciling paid work and childcare. Over the ten years, there have been many positive changes in childcare. Above all, government actively involved in socialization of care. For example, free childcare service, child allowance, childcare subsidy, evaluation for accreditation system (for checking quality at institutions), expanding childcare leave, expanding the proportion of public nurseries, and introducing i-dolbom service. Thereby, in diagram 3.3, I drew a bigger circle in the state section. Childcare market also has been developed by private education rather than public care/education. Thus, the market circle is also bigger in 2018. Dependence on family and relatives also present big circle. Notably, despite increased governmental intervention, family and relatives are still the most important caregivers as Ochiai (2009) found.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided an original and detailed analysis of childcare service provision and the use of these services. It has also discussed the problems with childcare provision and this adds to the discussion in chapter two on gender inequality, Confucianism and policies for maternal employment. This chapter thus summed up the statistical patterns which provided useful information in order to understand the contribution of childcare to the lives of working mothers.

This discussion has concentrated on the problems with formal childcare, which persist despite the government's efforts to expand the services over several years. However, another difficult barrier is in the labour market in relation to employment flexibility and employment stabilization. Those problems should be examined again in the light of the inflexible working environment, which can make childcare difficult to be arranged. Thus, the next chapter will consider various issues along with working mothers' daily experiences including combining multiple childcare, working experiences, and mothering.

Chapter Four Evidence on Working Mothers' Experiences of Managing Work and Childcare

Introduction

The first three chapters have set out the historical, cultural, political, policy and socio-economic contexts that relate to women's and particularly mothers' participation in the labour market in Korea. Childcare provision is a key part of the policy strategy used to support mothers' employment and chapter three provided an original analysis of the administrative data showing different types of childcare services and the patterns of take-up of that provision. Chapter four aims to review the latest Korean research evidence in terms of how mothers actually manage the daily routines of combining working and caring for the purpose of identifying gaps in the research. The gaps will be used to draw up the key themes and rationales for the analytical framework for the empirical part of this thesis. It will focus entirely on the experiences of mothers who are in paid work as they appear to have overcome the barriers to employment and have put in place childcare arrangements that enable them to participate in the labour market.

Section 4.1 begins by describing the literature search strategy and gives a brief overview of the range of studies conducted in Korea in the last 10-15 years. Section 4.2 will show the evidence around how mothers combined different types of childcare to meet their needs and their level of satisfaction with the arrangements. Given the importance of informal family care, it will be reviewed separately in section 4.3 discussing both grandmother care and the father care. The challenging workplace environments and working conditions surrounding mothers' employment will be discussed in section 4.4. It will provide the evidence on the conflicted feelings that mothers might experience around being a good enough mother.

4.1 Search strategy and overview of types of research studies

RISS³⁰ (Research Information Sharing Service) website operated by KERIS (Korea Education and Research Information Service) provided the main online databases in Korean literature. English-written research were searched in Web of knowledge, British Library EThOS (Electronic Thesis Online Services) and Google Scholar. Several key terms were used to search relevant literature such as working mother, employed mother, married women, women in dual-earner families, childcare, child-rearing, paid work, and labour force participation. The chosen population included Korean working mothers having dependent children aged 0-12 year-old. Most studies (examined in this chapter) were published under the title 'working mother' (or employed mother), whereas some studies included cases of working mothers as part of the research such as a comparative study between working mothers and non-working mothers. Regarding jobs of mothers, this review focused on the employed and regular work except for self-employed or teleworking jobs.

³⁰ <http://www.riss.kr/index.do>: This website run by Korea Education and Research Information Service (KERIS) provides academic resources published in Korea.

The search set limits to academic, scholarly, and peer-reviewed work, which included journal articles registered by KCI³¹ (Korea Citation Index), candidate of KCI, government reports, policy reports published by national institutes, MA dissertation or PhD thesis in universities (in Korea or outside of Korea). According to Wallace and Wray (2011), there are four types of academic literature; theoretical, research, practice, and policy literature. Since this chapter will address individual experiences, it focuses on research and practice literature.

The search found 41 quantitative studies which explored mothers' decisions around childcare choices and their multiple roles as working mothers. There were four key surveys relevant to this thesis which have tried to understand the experiences of working mothers and they were published by government-funded research institutes under the Prime Minister office. Among the four surveys, one was panel study repeated yearly (Yoo, Bae and Kim 2014) and three were single surveys conducted once (Kim, Lee and Choi 2014; Lee, YJ 2015; Yoo, HJ et al., 2014). There were 10 qualitative studies. These explored experiences of childcare arrangements (Cho, MH 2010; Kim, KM 2010; Lee, EJ 2010; Yang, AN 2014) or focused on looking at work-life balance of dual-earner families (Chae, HY 2012; Kim, MS 2012; Kim, NH, et al 2013; Kim, YJ 2005; Won 2003; Yang and Shin 2011). These are the abbreviations of the key organisations producing research and are used throughout this chapter:

- KICCE: Korea Institute of Child Care and Education
- KLWF: Korean Longitudinal survey of Women and Families (at KWDI)
- KWDI: Korean Women's Development Institute

4.2 Working mothers and combined childcare arrangements

Typical combinations of childcare

This part will look at how mothers combined a number of different types of childcare arrangements. Regardless of the child's age, many working mothers would require multiple childcare providers (Ahn and Shin 2013). This has previously been defined as 'co-mothering' by Uttal (1996). Multiple arrangement means combinations composed of formal and (or) informal care. Researchers (Kim, Lee and Choi 2014; Yoo, HJ et al 2014) at the Korean Women's Development Institute (KWDI³²) conducted two important surveys that provided evidence on typical combinations of childcare in Korea.

³¹ <https://www.kci.go.kr/>: This website run by National Research Foundation of Korea (NRF) provides the information about the KCI index.

³² In Korea, there are 26 government-funded research institutes under the prime minister office. Each institute is in charge of studying state policies categorized according to main functions (<http://www.nrcs.re.kr/english/member/>). Among those institutes, KWDI (gender), KICCE (childcare), KIHASA (welfare) will be mentioned in this chapter.

Yoo, HJ et al. (2014) carried out research on childrearing support policies and the current status of using systems from the viewpoints of employed mothers. Their survey targeted 5,209 working mothers with at least one child aged 0 to 12 years old. Whereas, Kim, Lee and Choi (2014) investigated a slightly narrower population of 511 mothers with preschool children up to 6 years old using childcare services, and 70 per cent of the mothers (355) were working mothers. Kim, Lee and Choi (2014) also conducted an analysis of the Panel Study on Korean Children at KICCE.

Yoo, HJ et al. (2014) classified the 5,209 employed mothers into three age groups of children according to the age of the oldest child in the family; infants (0-2 years), older preschool children (3-5 years), and school children (7-12 years). Accordingly, each family was reported as having only one case of childcare regardless of number of children in a family. Due to the basis of the oldest child, the sample featured a high proportion of school aged children (64%) in comparison to infants (14%) and older preschool children (22%). The study also reported the percentage of usage according to each care type (e.g. day nursery 65%) and they showed the number of combinations of care. For example, more than half of working mothers with infants (59%) combined two kinds of childcare, and one-third of mothers with infants combined three types (30%.) The remaining 10 per cent relied on one type only, mostly family care at home, and they rarely used day nursery (1%). Regarding older preschool children (aged 3 to 5), almost every working mother (99%) combined three (or more) (52%) or at least two types of providers (47%). The most common combination was either day nursery or nursery school with family care at home, and mothers additionally used Hak-won (HW) ³³ for arranging three (or more) providers.

For school aged children, combining four types was the most common pattern (46%), and using more than five providers also showed a high rate (17%). The proportion using HW and OSH³⁴ at school (afterschool education class) obviously increased according to the number of childcare services, which presents high proportion of arranging institutions for afterschool care (rather than using in-home care) (Yoo, HJ et al., 2014). Clearly, the most common form was combining HW and other types of institutions such as arranging several HW or arranging HW with OSH at school. Although the percentage arranging family care was lower than in the case of preschool children, family care was increased as the number of childcare/HW arrangements increased. In general, while multiple arrangement for preschool aged children seems to involve combining institutional care with in-home care, for school aged children the arrangements tend to focus on institutional care.

³³ As mentioned in chapter three, HW (Hak-won) means private learning centre for academic learning or hobby activities.

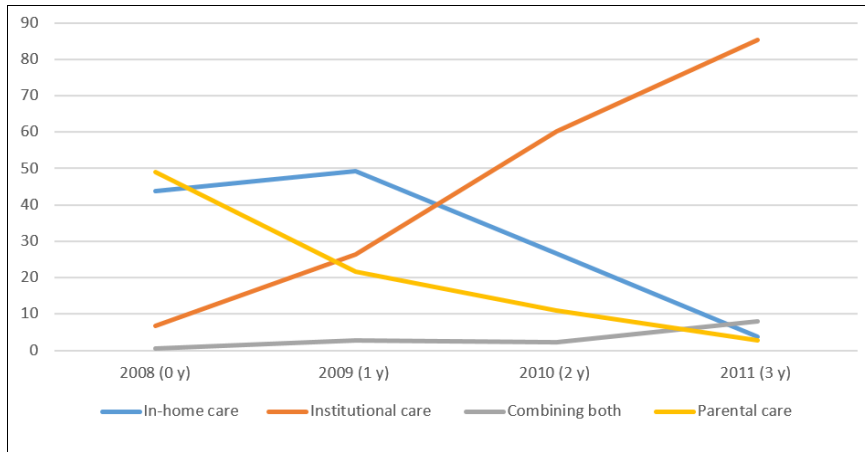
³⁴ As mentioned in chapter three, OSH (Out-of-School-Hour) at school includes education class (mostly, afterschool) and care class (morning, afterschool, and evening class).

Since the types of in-home care (mostly grandmother care) are relatively limited in comparison to types of institutional care for school aged children, increased usage of institutions seem to contribute to increasing the total number of childcare arrangements. It is important to note that whilst HW is used to help children’s educational and hobby activities, it can be seen both as a support to maternal employment and children’s development. It is not possible to tell in this survey however, whether the mothers needed it and used to cover their working hours.

In comparison, Kim, Lee and Choi (2014) analysed a Panel Study on Korean Children (PSKC) at Korea Institute of Child Care and Education (KICCE). The longitudinal study targeted children born in 2008 and has been annually investigated ever since. They analysed the data of ‘dual earner families’ (where mothers were employed) from 2008 (child age 0) to 2011 (child age 3). They found multiple arrangements which indicated combining in-home care and institutional care but shows a narrower scope than the multiple arrangement recorded in Yoo, HJ et al. (2014). Chart 4.1 shows that the proportion of multiple combinations was lower than the single arrangements either in-home care or institutional care. However, it is noticeable that the multiple arrangement slightly increased after aged 2 year olds, which seems to be in line with increased usage of institutions and decreased dependence on in-home care (either by parents or in-home carer) (Kim, Lee and Choi, 2014). The discussion will now describe the patterns of care hours matched to mothers’ daily working hours.

Chart 4.1 Arranging childcare providers (dual-earner families) by child's age





Source: Kim, Lee and Choi (2014: p. 99)

Combinations of care hours matched with working hours

Fitting care hours to working hours was examined by Yoo, HJ et al. (2014). The working mothers with dependent children younger than 12 years old worked either full-time (81%) or part-time (19%). They asked respondents to fill in the caregivers used for the oldest child according to 30-minute time slots from 7:00 to 22:00 (e.g. 7:00 -7:30, grandmother). The most common pattern will be described to understand typical combinations according to age (infants, preschool children and school children).

Since average working hours of respondents were 42.1 hours per week³⁵ due to high proportion of full-time workers (81%), the following findings will show how childcare was typically integrated with full-time jobs. Regarding mothers whose oldest child was of pre-school age (0-5 years old), the mothers tended to leave home between 7:30 and 9:00 and most preschool aged children were cared for by parents or other in-home carers until immediately before they went to institutional care settings. On average, 70 per cent of infants and 95 per cent of preschool aged children used formal institutional care (either day nursery or nursery school). They stayed at nurseries for about nine hours a day, which showed almost similar amount of time between infants and older preschool children. They used either a day nursery or nursery school from 7.30 to 16.00-17.00. Given that more than half of the mothers did not return home from work until 18.00-19.30, the typical dismissal time (16.00-17.00) indicates the need for additional carers to cover the hours between closing time of nurseries and mothers' arrival time at home. Accordingly,

³⁵ There was no data on average workday. Instead, data on departure time from home and return time from work were provided.

after 16.00, the most common form of care changed from day nursery to in-home care by kin, including grandparents. The proportion of kin care decreased according to parents' quitting time. After 19.30, most children were in the care of their parents.

Half of the mothers whose oldest child was between 6 and 12 years of age left home for work at 8.00-9.00; 74 per cent of children left home between 7.30-8.30. Before going to school, most children were cared for at home by parents or other relatives. Notably, some children used institutional care even before starting regular school either outside school or within school. After finishing regular school classes which for the majority of children (68%) was around 13.30-15.30, children would go immediately to HW or stayed at school to attend OSH education class or care class. A small number of children would go to a local child centre between 15.30 and 18.30. HW was the most common type of afterschool care, mainly used between 14.00 and 19.00. In the evening (17.00 to 20.00), some children stayed home with kin or by themselves (about 10% were unsupervised) until parents returned homes. Half of mothers arrived at home 17.00-19.00. It was generally earlier than the cases of mothers with preschool aged children.

In comparison to pre-school aged children, school aged children tended to attend different institutions after school, whereas pre-school aged children tended to go to formal institutions (day nursery or nursery school) generally for the entire day (8-9 hours). As a whole, mixed arrangements of formal and informal childcare hours tended to be complementary, for example, the early morning and late evening time slots were mainly composed of informal care and those periods obviously showed low proportion of using institutions. Regarding child's age and working mothers, working mothers with preschool children worked longer hours (infants: 43 hours, aged 3-5 year olds: 42.1 hours) than mothers whose oldest child was school age (41.8 hours), though non-parental care time seems to increase as the children mature.

These findings from Yoo, HJ et al. (2014) showed that additional caregivers are needed to fill the gaps between school / formal institutional care hours and mothers' working hours (including commuting time), but it also highlights how children need to be transported in the early morning and late evening in line with mothers' paid work. The need to fill this gap seems more obvious in the evenings between dismissing time from formal institutions and mothers' arrival time at home. These hours tended to be filled with informal care providers (mostly, grandmothers or HW). However, 32 per cent of respondents worked overtime at least once a week and this could create additional gaps in childcare. Yoo, HJ et al. (2014) described those gaps as 'blind spots in childcare', highlighting the necessity for considering mothers' working environment by eliciting their opinions as consumers of childcare services. The evidence on mothers' satisfaction in relation to the possible gaps in childcare provisions and working hours is now discussed.

Satisfaction with combining childcare and work

Many studies have reported the influence of satisfaction about quality of childcare and how it reduces working mothers' stress (Lee, YE 2012; Shin and Jun 2004) and guilt (Kim, NH 2011; Shin and Jun 2004). Similarly, it has been found that satisfaction with afterschool program (primary school) contributed to mothers' lower work-life conflicts (Oh, AR 2011) and positive work-family spill-over (Kwon, MI 2013). These results signify that satisfactory arrangements of childcare would be important factors not only for replacing parental care but also for mother's well-being. Studies investigating parents' satisfaction with level of formal childcare showed the following results.

In a telephone survey targeting 18,552 families living in Seoul, the i-dolbom service showed the high satisfaction with 97 per cent families satisfied (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2015). Regarding OSH care, afterschool education class at school has continued sound level of satisfaction (78%) (Ministry of Education, 2014a). In a study of 1,000 mothers (Choi EY et al., 2012), nursery schools also showed quite high satisfaction (92%). On the other hand, Yoo, Bae and Kim (2014), researchers at KICCE, reported (in their 4th annual series of 'A Study on the Improvement of childcare supports for improving fertility rate and work-life balance') provides important evidence. The study by Yoo, Bae and Kim (2014) is different from Yoo, HJ et al. (2014) in that a narrower population (working mothers the 1,736 working mothers with preschool age children) and focusing more on dual-earner families' lives rather than working mothers' lives. According to Yoo, Bae and Kim (2014), day nursery care was not perceived as being that good. For example, among the working mothers, they were dissatisfied with using a day nursery for young infants (aged 0 to 1 year old), which was mainly due to baby's maladjustment to the institutional care. Whereas Kim, Lee and Choi (2014) found that with regards to operating hours, working mothers perceived better usefulness of day nursery than nursery school due to long opening hours (7.30 to 19.30). Yet, some working mothers who used either nursery school (38%) or day nursery (34%) experienced dissatisfaction due to the gaps between their desired opening hours and actual hours, because their working hours were not fully covered by the operating hours (Kim, Lee and Choi, 2014).

Examining mothers' satisfaction with individual services is interesting, but does not say much about how the services might be compared by mothers to show which they preferred. In Yoo, HJ et al's (2014) study of 5,209 working mothers, they investigated satisfaction with several formal services but also with all the available care providers including in-home care and private education. As a result, mothers whose oldest child was preschool age (0-2 years old and 3-5 years old) demonstrated highest satisfaction with maternal grandmothers and it was also ranked the second highest in the case of mothers' whose oldest child was school age (5 to 12 years old). This result thus presents the importance of grandmothers for all the working mothers with dependent

children. Similarly, Yoo, Bae and Kim (2014) found in their study targeting 1736 of working mothers that in terms of in-home care, the majority of working mothers were satisfied with care by kin (79%, mostly grandmothers). However, only about half of working mothers (49%) felt satisfied with private babysitters due to their low reliability and expensive costs. Other evidence from Kim, Lee and Choi's study (2014) found that the biggest reason of feeling satisfied with in-home care was the availability of flexible care hours, which may save mothers the trouble of finding an additional caregiver in a hurry regardless of late quitting times.

Further insight into the possible differences between satisfaction with babysitters compared to grandmothers was provided by Yang, AN (2014). This study is an in-depth qualitative research study with nine working mothers which found that, although a reliable baby sitter could be as good as grandmothers, it generally took a long time until they could finally hire a trustful carer. This process was thus described as 'long journey' by an interviewee. Conceivably, whilst grandmother and babysitter could be similarly flexible, they were still not the same in the eyes of parents. In practice, according to Yoo, Bae and Kim (2014), most working mothers (78%) felt it was difficult to find a reliable babysitter, it was a more common problem with mothers finding an infant-caregiver (95%). Yet, the i-dolbom services aimed to overcome the issues about the reliability and cost by sending professional caregivers to the family's home with reasonable price (subsidised by the governmental funding). As noted above, while the majority of mothers who actually used the service felt satisfaction (97%) (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2015), Yoo, Bae and Kim (2014)'s survey revealed that only half of mothers (52%) were satisfied due to limited supply.

Thus, the evidence suggests a number of complex issues related to satisfaction levels: availability, cost, flexibility, extended opening times, reliability and trust of the carer. This shows a mix of concerns regarding practical matters of convenience and quality of childcare. In-home care from grandparents seems to be important parts of childcare arrangements with them making up the majority of in-home carers (64%) (Kim, Lee and Choi, 2014). Most working mothers (84%) received help from them in some form either full-time, part-time or only in an emergency situation. The next section looks more deeply into the importance of grandmother care.

4.3 Family care arrangements

Grandmothers

Lee, Kwon, and Kim (2015) from KICCE investigated grandmother care for preschool children in Korea. In a single survey of 500 families with preschool aged children, they recruited one grandparent and one parent (94%, mothers) in each family. Accordingly, 1000 participants (500 pairs) were involved and 90 per cent of parent respondents were from dual-earner families. Though the survey aimed to explore grandparents care, it turned out the caregivers were mostly maternal grandmother (57%) or paternal grandmother (39%), and grandfathers were rarely involved in the childcare (less than 2% each). Thus, the title 'grandmothers' was put in this section (not grandparents). Statistically, one grandmother took care of 1.15 children, mostly from dual-earner families (90%) and 43 per cent of children were fully cared for by grandmothers without attending other facilities, which seems to be related to the young age of children: 28.8 months on average (Lee, Kwon, and Kim, 2015).

Most grandparents lived separately from the child's home (79%), although they cared for the children either at the child's home (46%) or their own home (54%). Since both families tended to live in close proximity to each other, commuting time was 17.5 minutes on average. Care hours (per week) averaged 42.53 hours over 5.25 days a week, which is even longer than statutory working hours in Korea (40 hours³⁶). Since full-time care was most common, 50 per cent of mothers regularly paid on average £335 per month to grandparents. The remaining 28 per cent of mothers irregularly paid some fees and 22 per cent did not pay cash. According to the grandmothers, the main reason for the non-payment was they wanted the child's family to become economically stable as soon as possible (53%). That is, grandmother care was generally not free. Given that the multiple care arrangements were common among working mothers, combining several types of childcare is more expensive than relying on a single arrangement.

Yoo, HJ et al. (2014) looked at childcare costs in their survey of 5,209 working mothers. Respondents filled out average monthly cost for the oldest child in the family under 12 years old. According to the enforcement ordinance of Childcare Act (2015, Article 22), infant formal care in a day nursery is free of charge. For children aged three to five, it is free for designated daily curricula (Nuri-curriculum) which are commonly conducted in both of day nursery and nursery school. This partly accounts for the results showing that formal care is less expensive than informal or babysitter care.

As seen in table 4.1, despite the free charge of care at the nursery, mothers of infants paid about £54³⁷ per month for day nursery (7.30 to 19.30), which is generally additional cost for extracurricular activities. However, the day nursery seems much cheaper than babysitter (£623)

³⁶ According to article 50 of the Labour Standard Act

³⁷ In this thesis, the Korean currency (won) will display the conversion to British pounds based on the exchange rate £1=₩1700. This part will show all the costs based on monthly payment.

or kinship care including grandmothers (£339). Mothers of preschool children aged three to five paid a little more fees for day nursery (£89) or nursery school (£116) than mothers with infants. However, the fees for formal institutions were still much less than informal care such as babysitter (£569) or relatives (£247).

In contrast, mothers with school-age children tended to pay much less for informal care either babysitter (£456) or relatives (£212) than mothers with preschool children. Instead, a private learning centre (HW) tended to entail considerable cost (£185). Given that the private education expenses were averagely spent £136 per child in a nationwide survey (Statistics Korea, 2015d), children with working mothers seem to pay for more private education than the average. The private education in HW also costed much higher than formal out-of-school-hours programs at school (education class: £54, care class: £24) or outside school (local child centre: £27, youth academy centre: £38). Regarding fees for informal care, the gaps of fees between babysitter and kinships were nearly two times, since a babysitter was twice as expensive as a relative. Accordingly, the cost burden was more common in arranging private babysitters (76%) than arranging kinship care (39%) (Yoo, Bae and Kim 2014).

Table 4.1 Average monthly costs per child according to types of care

	Informal Childcare			Formal Childcare	
	Baby sitter	Kinships - Grandmother	Informal / institutions	Formal / institutions	Formal /home (i-dolbom)
Infants (0-2 years)	£623	£339	-	£54	£142
Preschool child (3-5 years)	£569	£247	-	£89-£116	£136
School child (6-12 years)	£456	£212	£185 (HW)	£24-£54	£140

Note: This table focused on showing typical types of childcare. Thus, regarding informal care at institutions, some figures were not described here, because those data were limited in terms of representativeness (e.g. services used by 2% of respondents).

Source: Yoo, HJ et al. (2014).

Those results indicate several important points. First, we can assume how much would be paid for combining a number of childcare provisions. For instance, a mother with an infant who want to combine in-home care with day nursery might prefer grandmother care to a babysitter given the price differential. Noticeably, grandmother care is even more expensive than formal childcare at institution (day nursery) or home (i-dolbom). In particular, formal institutional care tends to be less expensive, since those providers are subsidized by the government.

Although grandmother care was not cheap, it had many advantages. Some studies have stressed the benefits of grandmother care for mother's paid work, which can be broadly found not only in the research within the Korean context (Ahn and Shin, 2013) but also in the western literature (Del Boca et al., 2005; Wheelock and Jones 2002). Lee, JW et al. (2012) surveyed 1,000 working mothers rearing children under the age of two and they found that working mothers tended to be quite pleased with a grandparent's child care, averaging more than 90 per cent across eight components of care: time-flexibility (97%), cost (90%), parenting style (80%), expertise in caring (70%), affection (95%), sharing ideas with mothers (89%), reliability (100%), and affinity (98%). Nonetheless, the dissatisfaction was with expertise and parenting style, and this was the main reason for conflicts between a grandmother and a working mother (Kim, NH et al., 2013; Kim, Song and Lee 2015) and mothers seem to expect the same level of professional care. In identifying potential conflicts, a large body of literature has focused on mothers' emotional states as a result of grandmother care.

Above all, the satisfaction with grandmother childcare lightened the burden of parenting for working mothers (Shin and Jun, 2004). Similarly, Kim, Song and Lee (2015) found that grandmother care had positive effects on both working mothers (reducing childrearing stress) and on the grandmothers themselves (self-esteem as a useful caregiver). Kim, Lee and Choi (2014) discovered the factors of grandmother care that could influence the childcare stress of working mothers. It turned out the number of children cared by grandmother, the types of relationships between grandmother and mother (e.g. intimate vs authoritarian), quality of the relationships were noticeably influential. Considering the importance of good relationships, Lee, JR (2010) found that mothers used monetary remuneration to keep the stable grandparents-care. Kim, Lee and Choi (2012) found that grandparents felt rewarded by the economic compensation and this contributed to grandmothers' life satisfaction, which made mothers expect better care for their children.

In comparison to the high reliability of grandmother care, frequent media coverage of child abuse in formal facilities tend to make mothers hesitant to use formal care, especially if a child is pre-verbal (Kim, KM 2010). Thus, according to Lee, Kwon, and Kim (2015), half of mothers (48%) who arranged for grandmother care answered they will arrange an institution only given the linguistic development of the child. Apart from reliable care, most working mothers also depended on grandparents' help when parents are not available in emergencies (Lee, JW et al 2012; Lee, Kwon, and Kim 2015; Ministry of Health and Welfare, 2016). Consequently, Korean working mothers seem to agree that "grandparents can be the next best childcare as an alternative strategy of parenting roles" (Wheelock and Jones, 2002), despite some difficulties.

Lee, Kwon, and Kim (2015) found that these difficulties largely came from conflicting views and relationships between the grandmother and working mother. Most of the grandmothers reported that they abided by the requests from the child's parents (76%) rather than make their own decisions. Despite being paid for care, only about 2 per cent of grandmothers participated in childcare for financial reasons. The main reason given for helping the care was supporting mother's stable working life (50%). The second reason was that they could not refuse parents' requests for childcare (28%). Mothers claimed that they asked grandmothers to provide care due to anxiety about entrusting their child to a stranger (32%); keeping the stable working life (32%) was the second reason. When asked about the helpfulness of grandmother care, 72 per cent of working mothers said that it was 'very helpful', but only 33 per cent of non-working mothers did (Lee, Kwon, and Kim, 2015). This difference seems to reflect the contribution of grandmother care to mother's paid work. However, sharing childcare and a grandmother's involuntary participation can cause conflicts.

Cho, MH (2010) and Kim, NH et al. (2013) conducted qualitative studies and interviewed working mothers who relied on grandparents' care, and investigated the relationship between grandmothers and mothers. Cho, MH (2010) interviewed six pairs of grandmothers and working mothers to supplement survey research. The interviewees generally described improved relationships after sharing childcare. In contrast, Kim, NH et al. (2013) who interviewed eight full-time working mothers with preschool children discovered estrangement due to differences of opinion on childrearing. Mothers felt stress whenever grandmothers said things like, "In the past, we brought you [or your husband] up this way," especially if 'that way' was against recent trends or the mothers' wishes. There is also a difference in perspective: while mothers were usually concerned about grandmothers spoiling the grandchildren, grandmothers worried about their own health and having no time to enjoy the rest of their lives (Cho, MH 2010; Kim, KM 2010). This may account for some conflicts between mothers and grandmothers. Thus, maintaining cooperative relationships would be essential to resolving the difficulties with grandparents' care.

The strategies for keeping good relationship with grandmothers have been found in other qualitative studies. In interviews with 21 pairs of grandmothers and mothers, Lee, JR (2010) found that mothers are sensitive to the grandmothers' moods, and frequently express appreciation for their help. Kim, NH et al. (2013) found occasional disagreements, for instance over parenting style. Cho, MH (2010) found that relationships improved after discussing grandchild-caring through regular conversations. Mothers and daughters found a sense of solidarity by sharing care responsibilities. However, this is not always the case when grandparent care is provided by mothers-in-law.

Mothers-in-Law

Although several recent studies have paid special attention to grandmother care (Cho, MH 2010; Kim, EJ 2012; Kim, KM 2010; Kim, NH et al 2013; Lee, JR 2010), very little literature has explored childcare by mother-in-laws. The relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is noteworthy. In Confucian families, the relationship is quite hierarchical (Lee, MJ 1998). Hence, working mothers who receive childrearing help from a mother-in-law reported more conflicts than did women who received help from their mothers (Kim, NH et al 2013; Lee, Kwon, and Kim, 2015) even though most working mothers recognized close relationships not only with own mothers (96.9%) but also with mother-in-law (96.8%) (Lee, Kwon, and Kim, 2015).

Kim, ES et al. (2012) revealed that mothers found it hard to express disagreement with a mother-in-law especially on parenting style. This disagreement made mothers feel uncomfortable, nervous, and pressured (Kim, NH et al., 2013). Won, SY (2003) who interviewed 22 working mothers, 11 fathers and 13 bureaucrats seem to support the results by the qualitative data. She discovered that most of the male interviewees were socialised with the Confucian ideas like "house chores and childrearing are exclusively wife's jobs". Certainly, this patriarchal gender ideology was learned from their parents. Won, SY (2003) described this phenomenon as "invisible hand over daughter-in-law", showing the power of the mother-in-law, and challenges for working mothers due to gendered division of childrearing. Since mothers-in-law tend to expect their daughters-in-law to accept traditional roles, husbands walked on eggs in order to protect their wives from a hostile mother in-law whenever they were about to help wives. The problem appears regardless of whether mother-in-law were present or absent.

There are several studies of working mothers' experiences with grandparent care, which may reflect the importance of grandmother care for mothers' participation in the labour force. One possibility is to assume that formal childcare still cannot replace grandmothers. Another possibility is that the labour market conditions compel mothers to rely on grandparent care, as "inevitable support" (Lee, JR 2010). For this reason, it is necessary to look at the roles of fathers in childcare.

Fathers

In light of the gender inequality experienced by contemporary mothers in Korea, some studies have pointed out that family culture and workplace culture were still Confucian. The most serious difficulty in family life was fathers' limited participation in childrearing (Lee, YH 2012). While some studies reported that mothers' employment practically increased fathers' involvement (Kim, JH

2014; Shin, HS 2014), more studies (Kim, EY 2013; and national surveys in chapter two) revealed father's low contribution to childcare in spite of mother's paid work.

In a qualitative study, Chae, HY (2012) explored the views of men on their work-life balance, which provided insights into how fathers' attitudes affected the challenges of mothers. She interviewed 12 fathers with children aged under six years old. Despite the desire for their wife's earnings, most husbands retained traditional paternal roles such the male breadwinner (Chae, HY 2012). In other words, Confucian expectations of fathers require mothers to perform unpaid work at home, especially care responsibilities. Chae, HY (2012) defined the men's attitudes as an "anachronistic mind-set" which was detrimental to women's work-life balance.

Some of the interview data confirm previous studies of fathers' attitudes. According to Kim, NH et al. (2013), fathers tended to be "bystanders" in their parenting responsibilities. In the same vein, fathers seemed to be "noninterventionist" when it came to child care (Kim, YJ 2005). Won, SY (2003) described the fathers as problems instead of problem solvers. Interestingly, mothers also frequently used the phrase "partner's help," which seem to signify their recognition of their major responsibility for childrearing.

A considerable amount of literature has identified the father's participation in childcare as a major contributing factor for mother's emotional well-being. Shin and Jun (2004) found that satisfaction with father's support was the most influential variable in relation to the burden of parenting, parental distress, and daily childrearing stress. Likewise, follow-up studies using the same index with Shin and Jun (2004) have discovered the significant influences of a partner's support on a working mother's daily childrearing stress (Kim, KW 2009; Lee, SE 2010), and guilt (Sung, JW 2011). Similarly, the more active fathers are in childrearing, the less childrearing stress (Kim, HJ 2005), and guilt (Kim, EY 2013) the mothers experienced. Keum and Kim (2014) found the mediating effect of father's childcare participation not only on parenting stress but also on job satisfaction. In other words, a helpful and cooperative partner is essential to a woman's ability to manage childcare and work, which confirms the work of Huh, SG (2007). She conducted a correlation analysis between childrearing stress of working mothers and variables of social support including partner, other family members, colleagues and a formal childcare service. She discovered that the most significant variable was a partner's support. It follows that if fathers participate in childrearing, mothers have a lighter burden and are better at balancing childcare with paid work. In contrast, patriarchal attitudes will definitely increase mothers' stress and guilt, making it harder for them to balance all of their responsibilities.

In order to find reasons for fathers' lack of involvement, it is important to remember the workplace environment. It seems that lack of childcare support from mothers' workplaces might

increase the necessity of sharing childcare with husbands. However, many fathers were not able to make enough time to care children because of their own long working hours and fatigue (Lee, EJ 2010). A father will not increase his involvement with his children if he is more involved in the traditional organization than the mother is. Kim, KM (2010) and Lee, EJ (2010) conducted interviews with mothers to find out how working mothers and fathers shared childcare. Both studies found that most mothers had given up on trying to get their husbands to help them and long hours at work affect both men and women. Nevertheless, working mothers tended to accept that they were fully responsible for childcare (Kim, HJ 2005). Consequently, the fathers' resistance to childrearing offers a key to understanding Korean working mothers' difficulties based on social and cultural practices, which could result in role conflicts.

4.4 Role Conflict: Good Mother - Good Worker

Many Korean working mothers are shouldering heavy burdens from their multiple roles. With the workplace, family, and childcare services in mind, it is necessary to understand working mothers' perspectives, to look at the role conflicts of being both a good worker and a good mother. This part will contribute to understanding the problems and results of the conflicts, which are closely related to mother's own life. This section will begin with a discussion of inflexible working conditions and the cultural environment of the workplace.

Inflexible organizational culture

The workplace is where working mothers start to experience challenges because of rigid organisational structures. As female employees responsible for childcare, working mothers struggled to remain employed. According to Yu, SM (2014), the biggest source of employed mothers' stress was the workplace, but for non-employed mothers childrearing was. Above all, Korea's inflexible organizational culture made working mothers encounter challenges when they had to deliver care.

Lee, SI (2006) evaluated the family supportive environment; other evidence found the mothers' experiences of negative circumstance, which sometimes became the reason for giving up their maternal roles despite legal rights (Park, JS. et al., 2014; Won, SY 2003). Working mothers revealed that their workplace gave almost no substantial support for mothering (Lee, EJ 2010). As discussed in chapter two, despite the right to parental leave under the motherhood protection policy, few employees have taken full advantage of the leave policy (Kim, Lee and Choi, 2014). Due to the lack of support at work, mothers cannot concentrate on work engagement well, and self-improvement for work efficiency was also restricted (Kim, KM 2010). In the long-term view, the inflexible culture can reproduce not only gender inequalities but also impose an extra burden

on mothers to find suitable childcare to fit their working hours, which seem to result in not only individual disadvantage but also a national loss of the female workforce.

Won, SY (2003) interviewed mothers' working experiences in gendered organizations. She cited a male-oriented and patriarchal culture as barriers to care responsibility. Though colleagues or bosses usually did not express negative attitudes openly, mothers felt the unfriendly atmosphere. Male interviewees stated that they preferred not to work with working mothers because of possibly having to do their work for them when they were absent because of childcare. This seems to be why many working mothers could not attend parents' night and other events in childcare facilities (Yoo, Bae and Kim, 2014). That is, the inflexible culture of the workplace deterred mothers from going to childcare facilities during the workday.

Taking a slightly different perspective, Kim, YJ (2005) concentrated on the personal choices of mothers in constructing motherhood. She interviewed 49 working mothers of preschool-aged children. Three themes emerged from the interview analysis, which demonstrated types of employment arrangements. However, the arrangements reflected family processes influenced by socio-economic status and gendered culture. On the one hand, some mothers did not change the conditions of their employment, which required reliable childcare arrangements. On the other hand, some mothers changed from full-time to part-time work, or began telecommuting, or even gave up their careers. These decisions implicitly showed the importance of supportive environments in order to reduce career-interruption.

There are many published studies of the influence of inflexible working conditions on mothers' mental health such as the burden of parenting (Shin and Jun 2004), and work-life conflict (Choi and Cho 2007). Choi and Cho (2007) discovered that employed mothers experienced less work-life conflicts in more flexible organizations, because they had time to engage in parenting. Likewise, Chung, MR et al. (2015) revealed that a flexible atmosphere at full-time work directly decreased role conflicts of working mothers, and the reduced role conflicts were effective in reducing childcare stress. Given that the flexibility at work tends to affect the quality of time spent away from work, those results indicate the value of parenting time for working mothers.

Above all, long working hours are the main barrier to reconciling childcare and paid work in Korea. Previous studies have identified the negative impact of long working hours on family and individual life. It caused frequent work-life conflicts (Choi and Cho 2007; Sung, JW 2011), and stress (Huh, SG 2007). In particular, it seems to cause the most problems when a child is younger, since mothers experienced more frequent emergencies (in most cases, a child's illness) (Lee, JW et al., 2012). In brief, the challenges of Korean working mothers centred on inflexible working environments that interfere not only with their time for maternal roles but also with their well-

being. Suitable childcare arrangements that would help to manage inflexible work requirements would be vital for their continued employment, but could also create role conflicts with views about traditional motherhood.

Traditional motherhood

Although working mothers emerged in Korea in the 1960s, contemporary working mothers are still acutely aware of traditional motherhood. The inner conflict due to the motherhood ideology was one of the main themes of their childcare experiences (Jo, Chung and Lee 2015; Kim, MO et al 2015). According to Chang and Song (2010), the majority of Korean women place the welfare of their family over their own well-being; this attitude was even evident among younger women in their twenties. In this context, mothers' desire for a career might occasionally take second place to familial circumstances such as father's economic status and a child's developmental stage (Chang and Song 2010). Therefore, married women in their twenties and thirties perceived the support from families (e.g. financial or care support) were the most important resources to reconcile paid work and childcare (Kim, MS 2012). Ultimately, inflexible working conditions seem to increase the dependence on families and because of the dilemmas, a group of working mothers who obviously presented the viewpoints on traditional motherhood tended to experience higher level of stress (Kim, JY 2003), guilt (Pyun, ES 2004; Sung, JW 2011), and work-life conflict (Kwon, BR et al., 2011) than other groups. Regarding guilt over non-parental childcare, working mothers showed higher levels of guilt than non-working mothers (Kim, EY 2013; Kim, HJ 2005), which were mostly related to emotional burden of their temporary absences. According to Oh, YM (2015), the degree of accepting a traditional motherhood ideology increased socially-prescribed perfectionism which finally affected increasing parenting guilt.

Mothers experienced negative attitude towards their paid work from acquaintances who thought it was time to focus on child-rearing (Kim, NH et al., 2013; Yang and Shin, 2011). For this reason, many working mothers had doubts about their ability to be good mothers, even though some of them believed they were working for their children (Kim, NH et al., 2013). Interestingly, many mothers who gave up their jobs due to childcare difficulties, also expressed resentment of working mothers, even though they had been in the same situation (Um, GA 2010). Since working mothers tend to play multiple roles, negative social recognition can cause work-life conflicts accompanying dilemmas in their work and mothering (Page, 2010). This argument gives good account of uncooperative attitudes of workplace and fathers. That is, the social atmosphere mirrors problems which perpetuate the gendered culture at work and at home. It seems to make many working mothers feel guilty about maintaining their career.

Feelings of Guilt

Mothers' experiences of feeling guilty were found among many studies and overlapping results show the following common factors: time shortage for mothering compared to non-working mothers (Kim, YJ 2005), putting the child in nursery for all-day (Won, SY 2003), consideration of parents' schedule coming first before that of their child's condition (e.g. waking up too early in the morning) (Kim, KM 2010) and feeling like a bad mother during a child's sickness (Lee, EJ 2010). In this regard, Kim, KM (2010) identified a common key word 'superwoman syndrome' which featured an emotional narrative of undervaluing their own mothering along with the burden of being a perfectionist. Kim, NH et al. (2013) conducted eight interviews in terms of care burden of working mothers and they identified seven themes. Although only one theme had the title 'sense of guilt', the experience of feeling guilty was found across all the themes. For instance, a child's poor academic performance caused social stigma like being a 'neglectful mother', or a 'deficient mother' due to a fever for children's education in Korea. The degree of guilt seems to be different according to occupational positions. While professional and managerial workers mostly have confidence in their careers and the contribution to the child's better future (Kim, YJ 2005), more commonly, mothers tended to doubt whether their decision was right or not for children (Kim, NH et al., 2013). The motivation for labour force participation also seems to be related to guilt. According to Baek, HS (2012), except for 22 per cent of mothers working for self-realization, most mothers worked due to unavoidable reasons (mostly, economic reasons) such as to help provide for living costs and education fees.

Lack of substantial supports in the Korean system made the emotional burden worse. Whereas some studies emphasized the need for emotional supports such as making a network of mothers (Yang and Shin 2011), more evidences found mothers want financial or other practical supports (Joo, JS 2014; Lee, EJ 2010; Yoon and Im 2014). It seems that mothers tend to think the emotional burden is their own problem rather than shareable problem at societal level. However, a lack of social supports and feelings of guilt seem to be closely interrelated, though many studies overlook the connection, whereas mothers themselves describe how having an additional child can be interruption for career (Won, SY 2003) and/ or be unmanageable (Kim, KM 2010; Kim, YJ 2005). This has contributed to a continuous low fertility rate in Korea (discussed in chapter two). As these three studies commonly revealed, some mothers assumed that their working commitments can also be parts of being good enough mothers. Whilst other evidence shows that working mothers noticeably felt higher level of guilt than non-working mothers in terms of time poverty for childcare (Joo, YJ 2013; Oh, YM 2015).

A growing body of research has recently investigated time-use strategies of working mothers (Hyun, JE 2013; Jun, JH 2015; Kim, EW 2012; Kim, JG 2015; Kwon, SB 2015). Kim, JG (2015) analysed the 'Time Use Survey in 2009' (conducted by the office of Statistics Korea) in order to

examine time use patterns, working hours, and main activities across time periods. This study focused on investigating typical usage patterns of evening hours given the time poverty in the evening due to long working hours (Kim, JG 2015). As a result, full-time paid workers averagely stayed at workplaces for about ten hours. Based on the departure from home and arrival at home, men stayed outside home during 08: 22-19:00 hours, and women did during 09:00- 18:50 hours. Jun, JH (2015) found that concerning employment types, employed mothers tended to feel time-shortage on weekdays more strongly than self-employed mothers who tended to be busier during the weekend. Whereas Kwon, SB (2015) found that employed mothers spent 1 hour and 48 minutes a day for childcare on weekdays, which was much shorter (about 2 hours and 30 minutes) than the care hours of non-employed mothers. Instead, during the weekend, the amounts of time were similar between the employed and unemployed mothers (2 hours and 33 minutes and 3 hours and 35 minutes respectively), though working mothers tended to deal with more house works than non-working mothers while caring for a child at the same time (Kwon, SB 2015). The effort on weekends is not only increasing care hours but also increasing care quality described as 'significant, meaningful time with children' by mothers (Hyun, JE 2013; Kim, EW 2012; Kim, KM 2010). That is, they seem to make up for the insufficient time on working days by spending quality time during weekends.

Since those time-use studies were based on survey data, little has been known about specific strategies described by the mothers. Several qualitative studies have however, provided narratives supporting quantitative findings on the time poverty that mothers feel. Moon, JY (2013) interviewed a working mother who always felt confusion as if she was missing something important for her baby due to the limited time in a day. In order to deal with the inner conflicts, some mothers tried intentional actions (e.g. cooking child's favourite food) or material reward (e.g. buying toy, giving allowance) (Kim, NH et al., 2013) or show extra affection by providing nurturing touching and giving many compliments (Yang and Shin, 2011). In terms of long working hours, mothers also tried to explain to children why they cannot spend enough time with them (Kim, YJ 2005). This interview data shows that good mothering has remained as a private area, which involved finding their own strategies to alleviate their feelings of guilt. However, we can see that some parts of maternal care seem to be transferred to weekend.

Overall, the evidence has shown how important it is to understand mothers' views on the challenges they face in terms of finding suitable childcare to fit with their working commitments. However, it also describes how mothers manage different forms of childcare and family relationships (when care is provided by grandmothers) as well as the determination they must have to stay in work when the workplace environment and social norms uphold traditional gendered values around motherhood. Therefore, this thesis will investigate the everyday

experiences and the daily and weekly management strategies that working mothers might employ to stay in work.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that most mothers arranged formal and /or informal types of childcare in order to participate in paid work. They usually worked from 8.00-9.00 to 18.00-19.00. Mothers tended to arrange extra care in the evenings until they returned home, because there was a gap between their working hours and formal care hours. Although the use of HW was common, this could be used for child development and education in addition to childcare. Thus, it is hard to know how vital this service was to support maternal employment.

Informal care was typically provided by grandparents, and was known for its high reliability, maternal satisfaction, paid care provided in either the child's home or grandparents' home, full-time care on weekdays, and was often given in response to parents' explicit request. There were, however, possibilities for conflicts, highlighting the importance of keeping good relationships. The relationships with mother-in-law and husband's low participation in childcare were challenges for working mothers, which reflected the Confucian traditions. This tradition was most apparent in workplaces that did not support childrearing. Working mothers also experienced social expectations of traditional mothering, which made them feel guilty and which was also often related to time poverty. Employed mothers thus tried to make meaningful time with their children on weekends.

These results demonstrate which studies are needed to fill research gaps. As mentioned in section 4.1, there are many more quantitative (41) than qualitative studies (10). This difference turned out the limitation in the diversity of research areas. The research findings showed two noticeable issues: time-shortage and multiple-arrangement of childcare. Although numerous studies reported the time constraints as main challenges of working mothers, little is known about how they organize their daily and weekly lives with specific time-use strategies. Quantitative studies tended to focus on finding main variables (related to parents or child) that affect childcare decisions rather than looking at the processes on how to manage daily lives and fit childcare and work commitments together. Accordingly, it is essential to conduct qualitative study to understand how working mothers can best manage childcare and employment. Those research gaps will be the basis of constructing an analytical framework which will be used for carrying out the empirical study and is explained in the next chapter.

Chapter Five Methodology

Introduction

Chapter five aims to provide an account of the qualitative methods adopted in this thesis. It will begin in section 5.1, with a discussion about the rationale and conceptual basis of using a qualitative approach. It will cover how the analytical framework and research design were formed

and applied in the empirical research in Korea and section 5.2 will also describe the strategies for sampling and recruitment. Section 5.3 begins by considering how the interview data were generated, how the ethical issues were dealt as well as explain how the data was analysed. The thesis introduction providing rationales for adopting a qualitative approach and main points discussed in the literature review chapters will be suggested again in order to explain how the analytical framework was created.

5.1 Rationale of Qualitative Approach

Choosing an appropriate method would be an essential process to start an empirical study in practice. Matthews and Ross (2010) emphasized that researchers initially need to examine their research interests as well as research aims in order to decide how the data will be properly collected. In other words, the research topics can be directly linked to the nature of data which will crucially influence on the choice of method. Therefore, it is necessary to recall research aims which were described in the introduction chapter.

The research for this thesis aims to explore daily experiences of Korean working mothers as employees and carers. Especially, this study intends to examine how they manage to coordinate their childcare arrangements with work commitments. It aims to look at working mothers' real world through their views as insiders. According to Mason (2002), qualitative research enables researchers to closely explore various aspects of the social world in particular everyday experiences. Researchers thus can discover new meanings from the voices of insiders. Since the views of participants tend to feature diversity, researchers are able to explore various dimensions in their experiences (Flick, 2006). In a nutshell, Flick (2006) suggested three advantages of qualitative research; diverse perspectives of participants, reflexivity of researcher, and various approaches. Accordingly, qualitative research tends to provide rich data which allows researchers to understand people's lives in-depth. Especially, qualitative data focuses on the meaning related to different contextual basis, which make researchers seek to provide a variety of answers looking like stories (Braun and Clarke, 2013). Therefore, qualitative methods would be suitable approach for this study in order to explore experiences in the real life and world of working mothers. In that sense, it is necessary to look at the fundamental features of qualitative data on the basis of philosophical assumptions.

Many guides for qualitative research have stressed on the importance of considering the philosophical assumptions. Crosswell (2007) addressed that researchers' own assumptions leads research practices, though the initial plans can possibly evolve during the research processes. Even so, the ontological and epistemological assumptions of the researcher should be underpinned early on (Braun and Clarke, 2013; Mason, 2002). Ontological positions reflect varied

perspective of participants seeking what the nature of reality is (Croswell, 2007). Thus, the ontological perspective presents what the thing is – what the 'it' is that the research will put emphasis on in a fundamental way (Mason, 2002). In this respect, this thesis mainly investigated 'experiences and views of working mothers' as the nature of their realities in contemporary Korea. These are the ontological elements in this thesis and will be described in table 5.3 below.

Researchers also need to take into account their epistemological positions. In that sense, it is necessary to examine the relationship between the researcher and the '(intended) objects' they wish to investigate (Croswell, 2007). In contrast with ontological perspective, the epistemology focuses on the researchers' views on the nature of knowledge that they intend to figure out (Matthews and Ross, 2010). Among the epistemological positions including positivism, feminism, interpretivism, realism, and on, interpretivism would be closely matched with the research directions of this study. Interpretivism seeks to find the nature of knowledge within cultural and historical contexts consisting of people's social world. This position is interrelated with constructivism in terms of finding meanings in the social construct and generating new constructs on the basis of researcher's perspectives on the social phenomenon (Matthews and Ross 2010). It is notable that interpretivism is contrary to positivism which tends to deal with measurable data for quantitative studies (Gray, 2009). The nature of knowledge in this study was interpreted by means of grasping Korean working mothers' experiences which seem to mirror intrinsic social and cultural constructs. Given that all of the participants were women, feminism could be considered. However, it would be less likely to reflect feminist perspective, because considerable parts of the research concentrated on childcare arrangements which involved diverse issues regardless of gender. Besides, this study ultimately intends to contribute to policy developments not only for working mothers but also for their families.

In order to identify the nature of qualitative approach in more detail, it would be helpful for drawing a comparison between qualitative and quantitative research. Researchers should perceive the possibilities that they may be able to generate somewhat different or better knowledge by reviewing different kinds of methodologies regardless of applying those methods into the ongoing research in the end (Braun and Clarke, 2013). In this respect, it is necessary to look at main aspects of quantitative research in order to examine whether it can contribute to this research in some ways.

The nature of data is a core standard of making difference between the two types of methods. While quantitative research is mainly based on numerical data for seeking single answers to identify patterns of things, meaning-oriented data in qualitative research tend to produce broad forms of data (Braun and Clarke, 2013). In quantitative studies, testable hypotheses are essential for finding answers with a fixed research design. In contrast, qualitative researchers generally set

out a flexible research design enabling them to explore social phenomenon as a social being (Matthews and Ross, 2010). A qualitative study also tends to be limited in generalization due to the subjective characteristics, in contrast to, the high possibilities for generalization in quantitative research (Matthews and Ross, 2010). Chapter three analysed the administrative data (in terms of childcare provisions in Korea) which might be useful for understating childcare experiences in the following chapters. Although this thesis did not adopt a mixed methods approach but a qualitative method to answer its main research questions, according to Flick (2006) using quantitative data would usefully supplement knowledge in order to understand empirical findings with ease such as availability of childcare options experienced by respondents. The original analysis of Korean administrative data provided in chapter three helped describe the context of childcare service provision faced by the respondents at the time of the empirical study. In addition, the qualitative approach has been further underpinned by the application of a pre-existing framework used by Skinner (2003) which highlighted the everyday experiences of working mothers in trying to combine work and child care.

Skinner's (2003) framework has been adopted here partly as a result of the research gaps highlighted in chapter four. This showed that whilst working mothers used multiple carers for overcoming challenging working contexts, it did not really explain how they managed to combine work and care successfully. Skinner's (2003) framework highlights the importance of trying to show how different childcare arrangements are actually coordinated in practice and how the daily journeys involved family members. This framework provided a better way to understand the daily life of English working mothers. She divided the 40 respondents into three groups according to employment status; full-time workers, part-time workers and non-working mothers to compare differences between them. This thesis will focus only on working mothers and rule out the cases of non-employment according to research aims. Though the framework was formulated from the experiences of English mothers, the evidence in chapter four suggests that daily routines lasting from morning to night generally seem to be similar between dual-earner families in each country. The main concepts that Skinner (2003) devised from her findings to explain daily experiences included three categories; daily journeys, coordination points, and management strategies. Daily journeys indicate how and when family members make actual journeys in a typical working day in order to coordinate paid work with childcare arrangements (Skinner, 2003). Families experienced daily journeys across home, childcare/education places and workplaces. Each family member can have different or similar numbers of daily journeys from morning to evening according to their situations which will be illustrated by specific case studies in chapter seven. Coordination points demonstrate important times in the day when carers or parents would drop off and pick up their children to/ from childcare. Skinner (2003) found a variety of examples of coordination points across the day from morning, lunchtime, post school, early evening and late

evening. Table 5.1 shows an example of a full-time worker with two children aged 10 years and 4 years old. The table describes who provides help (formal and informal) to manage picking up and dropping off children at certain times in the day. A neighbour (a) was involved with morning journey, a range of people were arranged in order to transport those children from childcare during lunch time. The mother picked up the children from the childcare setting to home after work quitting time. In total, in this family, in a typical working day, six people were involved in supporting the daily coordination points and most of them (5 out of 6) were informal caregivers.

Table 5.1: Example of childcare supports with daily coordination points

Ages of children	Time mother finishes work	Daily coordination points				
		Morning 8-9am	Lunch time 11.30am-1pm	Post-School 3-3.30 pm	Early evening 4-6pm	Late evening 9-10pm
10, 4 Years Old	5pm	Neighbour(a)	Grandparents, Neighbour(b), private nursery manager, mother	After school club	Mother	-

Source: Skinner (2003): P. 17

Note: This is one case of a full-time working mother in a typical working week

Skinner's work (2003) presented not only the difficulties for managing daily routines, she also illuminated different strategies according to the employment status of mothers and the patterns of their working hours. In terms of using regular childcare, part-time workers generally used similar strategies with full-time workers.

However, they put less emphasis on arranging insurance back-up supports than full-time workers and used less help in picking up and dropping off children.

Designing an analytical framework

There have been a number of qualitative studies (mostly, western literature) in terms of how parents (more commonly, mothers) juggled childcare and paid work. These studies would provide insights into research design for empirical study and are presented in table 5.2. A number of people supported childcare and they looked like a "team around the children" managed by child's mother (Siraj-Blatchford et al., 2007: P. xii). Although Siraj-Blatchford et al. (2007) used the term in a broad sense indicating all people who can possibly influence a child's growth (e.g. policy

makers), this thesis adopts the term in the narrower sense than the original meaning. In here, 'the team' means people who are directly involved in the non-parental childcare for supporting working mothers. Mothers might have their own strategies for managing those team members, and the management seems to present different level of complexity according to own circumstances.

Other studies also have discovered various strategies of parents for managing work and childcare, for instance, alternating childcare between parents (Forsberg, 2009), or de-synchronization of the working time between parents (Carriero et al., 2009). These studies revealed that arranging part-time work (instead of full-time work) was a widely used strategy for managing daily time. According to Forsberg (2009), some parents decided to reduce working hours and share childcare by turns, because they hoped to minimize non-parental care hours. Similarly, parents tried to avoid overlapped working hours between them in order to make their children stay with at least one parent (Carriero et al., 2009). Even though part-time work was a helpful strategy for reducing complexity of combining both roles, it was not directly helpful for providing less complexity than full-time jobs. For example, part-time work at atypical times can involve more complex arrangements than full-time work due to difficulties of finding an available carer at atypical hours (Statham and Mooney, 2003). According to Skinner (2003), mother's choice, either working full-time or part-time hours was crucially influenced not only by situations surrounding them but also by their own identities. For instance, some part-time workers valued good mothering for improving their child's well-being, because they did not want to miss out on the period of child growth due to full-time work commitment. This finding seems to be an example of gendered moral rationality (Duncan and Edwards, 1999), which means that mothers' feeling of responsibilities for children's well-being could be more crucial priority than economic gains. Furthermore, practical challenges (e.g. employer's attitude, internal atmosphere within the organization) influenced working arrangements.

Therefore, it is necessary to explore drivers impacting on working hours, which might be associated with sociocultural background. According to the survey result of employed persons by hours worked (female) (Statistics Korea, 2014d), the rate of full-time female workers (74%) was much higher than part-time work (26%), which shows the similar proportion with OECD average (full-time: 69%, part-time: 31%) (OECD 2016k). Nonetheless, the gender share of part-time employment in Korea (54%) is much lower (Statistics Korea, 2015b) than OECD figure (68%) (OECD 2016k). Noticeably, the proportion of part-time employment in women's 30s (25%) was not quite different from other groups aged 20s (22%) and 40s (23%) (Statistics Korea, 2014a), which means that selecting part-time jobs might not be used as strategies for integrating with childcare by

many mother-workers despite the intensive period for rearing young children (see chapter two). Accordingly, the experiences of mother-workers should be differently explored from male workers or unmarried female workers considering the life-course events and realities in Korean labour market.

In terms of hidden aspects of managing work and childcare, Skinner (2003) revealed managing coordination points as the crucial strategies for condensing time costs, for instance, fitting childcare hours with working hours, and considering proximity of childcare from home. Those findings gave new insights associated with the temporal and spatial factors which were research gaps discussed in chapter four. Consequently, the framework (Skinner, 2003) provides useful evidences and grounds on constructing the design of the empirical research. The concept of coordination points will be applied to gain an understanding of how Korean working mothers are successfully managing their work and childcare arrangements. It will address vital roles of grandparental support in the Korean context not only for providing direct childcare, but also for helping with transporting children across places. Based on the key references and research aims, the analytical framework is presented in table 5.2 below.

As shown in table 5.2, the framework firstly displays emergent themes from Korean studies which would need more qualitative evidences (as concluded in chapter 3). The main themes are closely associated with daily practices of Korean working mothers, which required further research on the topics. The second column highlights key ontological elements; experiences, behaviours and strategies in order to look at how mothers have successfully managed childcare with paid work. While following the practical processes of the management, strategies, mothers' own beliefs and attitudes about 'good' mothering will be investigated in detail. The final column listed key literature in which helped to organize the themes, which gave fruitful inspirations to the research directions (Flick, 2006). In terms of key terms, managing paid work and childcare will embrace entire processes involved in integrating childcare with paid work. Arranging childcare will describe preparatory actions for starting the managements. Coordinating childcare would be the central theme of the framework so that the case studies will illuminate typical patterns of their daily routines. Regarding management strategies, second column shows there would be sub-themes broken down into managing 'team around the child' and managing time-related issues such as long working hours and time-poverty. The last two themes in terms of mothering and gender equity will potentially encompass broad issues within Korean context beyond individual experiences.

Table 5.2: Analytical Framework for the Empirical study

Topic	Themes (ontological properties)	Sub-themes	Key References
Managing Paid work and Childcare (Experiences)	Arranging Childcare (Procedure, Behaviours)	Availability, affordability, quality, preferences, transports	Forsberg (2009)
	Coordinating childcare (Procedure, Time)	Daily journeys, coordination points, management strategies	Skinner, C (2003)
	The team around the child (Strategies)	Managing multiple childcare and care providers, Co-mothering	Siraj-Blatchford et al. (2007) Uttal (1996)
	Time Management (Strategies)	Long working hours, Matching childcare service with employment hours	Forsberg (2009) Carriero et al. (2009)
	Good mothering (Strategies, Attitudes, Beliefs, Feelings)	Ultimate aim of managing cc and work, Multitasking, significant time with children, Feeling about the management, Role Conflict, burnout	Skinner, C (2003) Fothergill (2013) Duncan and Edwards (1999)
	Gender Equity (Social and Cultural practices)	Confucian culture in family and workplace, Confucian war over childcare (Fathers' roles)	Finch (2006)

Note: This table is based on the research gaps identified in chapter three and the key references discussed in this chapter.

Source: The terms of ontological properties were adapted from Mason (2002): p.15

So far the chapter has described the research rationale for adopting a qualitative approach and the conceptual-analytical framework that was used to guide the study. The next section discusses the actual research design.

Research Design

Table 5.3 describes the research questions seeking answers. As noted in the introduction chapter, the main research question would be 'how do working mothers with young children manage work and childcare?'. The sub-questions were also listed according to the analytical framework. The ontological properties in table 5.2 above were also suggested and were repeated here again in order to fit them into experiential and/or critical research approach. Braun and Clarke (2013: p.21) defined experiential approach as emphasising the interpretations of qualitative data elicited by respondents' own self-experiences, whereas critical approaches tend to involve researchers'

interpretations based on the data. These two approaches can be separately or simultaneously applied according to themes. As shown in the second column of table 5.3, whilst the daily practices mainly concentrated on the experiential approach, the values and practices within Korean context required researcher's further interpretations. This table was practically applied in order to create the interview questions in the topic guide and to make sure no important elements of the literature review and the research questions were missed out in the fieldwork.

Table 5.3: Research Questions Linked to Qualitative Methodology

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Themes of Framework	Main and Sub Research Questions	Qualitative focus in terms of ontological properties	Broad Approach
	Main Research Question: <i>'How do working mothers with young children manage work and childcare in Korea?'</i>		
Arranging Childcare	What types of childcare do working mothers with young children regularly arrange (daily and weekly)?	Procedures, Behaviours	Experiential
	What do they prepare for managing childcare and paid work?	Strategies	
Coordinating childcare and Paid Work	What difficulties (if any) do they face in coordinating childcare with their working hours (and school hours if they have older children)? What are the factors that affect this process of coordination?	Time, procedures, Behaviours	
	What strategies have they used to enable effective coordination?	Strategies	
The team around the child	Do they get any help with managing and coordinating work and care responsibilities and, if so, from whom and in what ways and to what benefit?	Strategies, Multiple realities	
Time Management	How do their working hours affect their ability to coordinating activities?	Strategies, time, procedures	
Good mothering	What strategies have they used to manage good mothering and work commitments and what factors do they take into consideration for providing good mothering?	Strategies, Attitudes, Beliefs, Rationality	Critical (could be experiential)
	How do working mothers of young children feel about their roles as workers, carers, wife and daughters-in-law?	Perceptions, feeling, emotion	
Gender Equity	Do they experience gender inequities in managing work and childcare?	Social and Cultural practices	
Managing Paid work and Childcare	What are the policy implications arising out of this examination of the everyday practices of working mothers?	Opinions, Attitudes, Representations	Critical

Note: Headings adapted from Braun and Clarke (2013: p.52); Ontological properties adapted from Mason (2002: p. 15).

5.2 Field Research in Korea

Field research has been widely used to enable qualitative researchers to understand people's attitudes and behaviour in depth (Babbie, 2013). Since this study necessarily required interviews targeting Korean working mothers, field research was designed to collect interview data in Korea. Most parts of this section will be described in past tense in order to report the experiences of field research.

Collecting interview data can include a variety of modes, for example, face-to-face interviews, researcher-directed diaries, qualitative surveys, focus group interviews, and story completion tasks (Braun and Clarke, 2013). Of these methods, this study chose to use face-to-face interviews, given the availability of conversational interactions between interviewer and interviewee (Wengraf, 2001). Since this interaction is based on synchronous communications, it is useful for capturing specific clues generated by them (Opdenakker, 2006). In particular, interviewers can follow not only verbal statement but also non-verbal signals such as emotions or customs in the specific cultural context (Wengraf, 2001). As indicated in table 5.3, interview topics included feelings and emotions as parts of their lives, which required understanding of non-verbal expressions in person such as facial expressions, eye contact, head nods, and gestures. Thus, establishing rapport with the interviewees contributed to efficient interactions (Gillham, 2000). Especially, conversation with eye-contact was helpful for creating a comfortable and intimate mood during the interviews (Matthews and Ross, 2010). Above all, making the relaxed atmosphere needed continued effort from the researcher throughout the field work, such as selecting an appropriate interview venue or improvements of questioning styles.

The research design greatly influenced decisions on interview technique. Interview methods tend to include structured, semi-structured, non-directive, focused and informal conversational interviews (Gray, 2009). Of these, this study selected semi-structure interview considering the flexibility within the set research framework. Though a semi-structure interview is generally based on the research frame prepared by a researcher, interviewees can flexibly contribute to formulating new themes and topics (Matthews and Ross, 2010). Accordingly, the interviewer needs to play a somewhat directive role in order to investigate the pre-set phenomenological experiences (Fontana and Frey, 2005). This mode is however different from a structured interview which features closed-ended questions with minimum interactions between interviewer and interviewees (Gray, 2009). Although a semi-structure interview also accompanies pre-arranged questions, the questions can be expanded and changed while the interview is going along. This freer flow will allow more exploration of new issues accompanying their explanations and evaluations (Matthews and Ross, 2010). The analytical framework (table 5.2) was used to construct a credible outline and pre-planned questions, which finally provided foundation in forming a topic guide.

As a research tool, a topic guide was developed to efficiently elicit people's experiences in accordance with research aims. Semi-structured interview usually involves a topic guide composed of topics for questions (Hancock, Ockleford and Windridge, 2009). Gaskell (2000) suggested guidelines for designing a well-constructed topic guide. Above all, the topic guide should definitely reflect research directions based on critical review of relevant literature. Given the flexibility of the semi-structured interviews, researchers need to focus on making a list of crucial themes rather than writing specific questions. Furthermore, researchers need to be aware of avoiding use of jargon by using normal and ordinary terms for participants. Crucially, researchers should keep in mind the possibilities for changing the guide in response to new issues introduced by interviewees (Gaskell, 2000). Considering the guidelines, a topic guide with (encapsulated) key topics was prepared beforehand. Except for modifications of specific points such as sequence of questions, the initial guide was not noticeably changed during the fieldwork, because the general outline of analytical framework was steadily maintained. The final version of topic guide was added to the appendix 6.

Sampling Strategy

While preparing the fieldwork, consideration of a sampling strategy was done at the same time. Sampling is a crucial process to define parameters of the population and to recruit suitable participants (Emmel, 2013). To embark on semi-structured interviews, researchers usually choose purposive sampling by means of selecting participants who have particular characteristics or experiences in accordance with the research interests (Matthews and Ross, 2010). That is, researchers need to judge which population can provide enough amount of relevant data in order to answer the research questions. In that sense, the purposeful sampling is certainly distinct from random sampling which is suitable for targeting whole population while conducting survey research (Matthews and Ross, 2010). It was important to review a large body of relevant literature in order to confirm sampling strategy in the right direction (Emmel, 2013). After that, a deliberate typology was designed to display characteristics of prospective participants who might experience necessary types of cases (Silverman, 2010). In addition, some initial participations were involved in snowball sampling if they had acquaintances matched with the typology (Matthews and Ross, 2010). To illustrate the typology of sampling, this section sets up the following sampling criteria.

The key references of this study provided basis for establishment of the sampling criteria. Regarding the criteria based on mother's characteristics, types of working time (Skinner, 2003), marital status (Sung, SR 2002) or socio-economic position (Kim, YJ 2005) were regarded in the previous literature which provided useful empirical grounds. On the other hand, this research planned to recruit participants considering characteristics of children and mothers at the same

time. Regarding characteristics of mothers, this study deals with a slightly narrower scope than the studies mentioned above due to focusing on current daily practices of working mothers. Therefore, their employment condition had to be currently employed either in full-time or part-time job. Accordingly, the cases of unemployment, taking leaves (e.g. maternity or childcare leave) or self-employment were ruled out. To put it concretely, it was planned to get a sample to include diverse types of working hours and different occupational positions, given that occupational status had a significant influence on arranging childcare (Kim, YJ 2005). In terms of marital status, partnered mothers with children are generally considered married women, because cohabitation or de facto marriage (based on the intention of marriage) are still not legally protected in Korea. The main reason for this was that negative national ethos in Korea despite the increase of those couples as one of new family types (Lim, J 2013; Park, HG 2012). Accordingly, the type of household included married mothers who were living with a male partner and at least one dependent child.

With regard to dependent children, the Child welfare Act (2015) stipulated the age of dependent children under the 18 years, because those children would require protections from adults. On the other hand, some studies revealed that children aged more than 12 years old were generally expected to take care of themselves by their parents (Duncan 2003; Ford 1996). In addition to this, given that the age 12 is the final year of primary school in Korea, this research covered the age of children from new born baby to final year (6th grade) of primary school student aged 12 years old. This range in age of children aimed to display how the usage pattern of childcare services can be greatly different according to child's age (as analysed in chapter 3). Moreover, the number of children had an important impact on the complexity in coordinating care and work (Skinner, 2003). Thus, the cases of mothers who have multiple children were separately examined considering the age gap of siblings. Taken together such points, a purposeful sample was designed to outline the main characteristics of respondent, which was usefully reflected in the process of recruitment.

Recruitment

In order to create a purposeful sample, I planned to use my social networks to recruit respondents. This is because I had previously worked in the childcare sector in Korea and I still had contacts with people who were engaged in providing formal childcare facilities for 0-5 year-old children. Accordingly, given my previous employment and study history (as a childcare professional), I contacted my previous employers, colleagues, university alumni, and my sisters' previous employers (they were also childcare workers). The second plan was snowballing. It was anticipated that initial participants may introduce their acquaintances as informal volunteers (Matthews and Ross, 2010). Kim, YJ (2005) reported that the snowballing technique was quite useful for finding additional participants and many participants kindly helped in the recruitment.

The final approach was planned to find parents of older school aged children through primary schools. As my networks did not extend into this age group, I had to learn about gatekeeper in depth. Gatekeeper indicates someone who has an authority to permit the researchers to access the participants (Miller and Bell, 2002). Social Research Association (2003) stressed on researchers' trustful and respectful attitudes towards gatekeepers and the importance of providing sufficient information about the requirements. I reviewed some empirical literature in the same field, which described practical advice on contacting gatekeepers.

For finding potential participants, the recruitment was carried out in capital Seoul and some cities around the outskirts of Seoul. Initially, the sample was planned to collect people living in the capital, Seoul, because the population in Seoul is about 10 million equivalent to 20 per cent of the whole population (Seoul Statistics, 2016). Due to failure of balanced regional development in the process of economic growth, Seoul has maintained predominant position as the centre of economy, finance, politics and culture, which has been the reason for causing the dense population including various social classes (Ha, SK 2012). Although the recruitment was started from Seoul, the other cities were also included through gatekeepers or personal networks of participants. This approach also contributed to the diversity of the respondents' characteristics.

In short, I used three strategies for the recruitment; personal network, gatekeeper, and snowballing. Table 5.4 shows in detail my recruitment strategy. I used personal networks in three ways. The first approach involved contacting some of my acquaintances who played roles as gatekeepers. This approach involved two stages; the gatekeeper making contact first with a potential respondent followed by direct contact between the respondent and me. We (the gatekeepers and I) have long been known each other. Therefore, they could encourage their employees, friends, and co-workers to take part in the recruitment as a gatekeeper. However, some cases required more stages. For example, I and my acquaintance (a nursery teacher) had to obtain permission from the nursery director. After the agreement with the director, information sheets were distributed to mothers, and I could arrange to meet one of them. This approach was accessible in terms of my work experiences as a nursery teacher. The second approach in using my personal networks (involved snowballing from my acquaintances who already participated in the interview. The third approach of using my personal networks was making direct contact with my acquaintances to interview them, this did not require gatekeepers and it was the most convenient for rapid recruitment. However, I tried this approach later on after I gained some experience on conducting interviews with people I did not know. This was because I worried that it might not produce a fruitful interview because of the nature of my close friendship and the other was because of concerns about maintaining confidentiality.

In contrast to those approaches of using my networks, some five respondents were recruited by people unknown to me who acted as gatekeepers. This strategy of recruitment took a relatively long time from making first contact with an organization to conducting the interview. At the beginning, I attempted to make direct contact with the relevant organisations which may have the targeted interviewees. For instance, I contacted with several public institutions in order to find a working mother engaged in the public sector. It turned out that this approach was not useful, because I was an individual researcher who could not send an official document from a Korean institute or university. Rather, the contact I made was with the organization which managed the other service providers and this was more productive.

The organisations included departments in charge of managing childcare institutions at district office or at information centre. They had information about the other relevant service providers and had sketchy demographic profiles of local people. As a result, two management organizations became the first gatekeepers. This had more complex stages than the recruitment by personal network. For instance, a staff member in the management organization recommended which other providers might be suitable for recruiting respondents. After contacting the recommended service providers, I could meet several directors who helped recruitment and were effectively acting as second gatekeepers. This approach allowed me to find respondents having specific characteristics (e.g. a mother using a workplace nursery operated by conglomerate or major banking institution). In this regard, it was more useful than personal networks in spite of taking a long time to recruit.

The final main approach I used was snowballing, which I carried out throughout the fieldwork period asking all respondents to recommend anyone else they knew that would fit my criteria. Four respondents were recruited in this way and some interviewees introduced their acquaintances like as they were informal volunteers (Matthews and Ross, 2010). Considering my personal networks mainly involved people who were providing formal nursery services or were using those services, I expected the snowballing approach would be useful for recruiting mothers who did not use formal childcare and be helpful for collecting diverse cases.

There were a mix of advantages and disadvantages of using these different recruitment methods. In qualitative research, Gray (2009) argues that the autobiographical factors of researchers are deeply concerned with epistemological perspectives in terms of less distance with participants. Therefore, gaining access to unknown respondents through gatekeepers contributed to gaining a broad mix of respondents with various characteristics and backgrounds. Actually, more than half of participants could be in the middle class in terms of socio-economic status if I would highly depend on my personal networks. Therefore, a broad view was essential for collecting samples in order to look at a variety of cases. However, Braun and Clarke (2013) point out that researchers

also need to have a contextualized view rather than bias during the research processes. In this regard, using personal networks was useful for having less distance with the respondents. For example, snowballing was advantageous because the respondents looked more comfortable than other respondents recruited through gatekeepers, because they might already have heard about what the interview atmosphere would be like. One of them explained that a positive feedback (e.g. "The questions are very easy like an informal chat") was helpful for feeling comfortable, which contributed to forming the rapid rapport.

There are also more practical advantages and disadvantages which I learned about by using these different recruitment methods which would mean I might adopt a different approach the next time. For example, in the initial stages, I tended to make a hasty conclusion such that "No answer from gatekeepers would mean the rejection" if gatekeepers were slow to respond to me. However, it could mean they completely forget about it due to their own work. Thus, when I reminded them of the recruitment a second time, most of them helped with the recruitment again. Moreover, I assumed the contact on Friday would be a good time considering the lower work burden before weekends. However, the contact at the beginning of the week was generally better, because they could easily forget about something after the weekend. Therefore, keeping in touch on Monday or Tuesday helped remind them of it during the week. In addition to the weekly schedules, annual summer holiday schedules and public holidays should be taken into account. For example, many workers had summer holidays over the first or second week of August. While some respondents wanted to have interviews during their holidays, most respondents or gatekeepers were not able to contact or meet me during holidays. Therefore, avoiding the holiday periods would have been a better strategy.

Gatekeepers could be a great facilitator who offered informant not only for the recruitment but also for helping generate ideas for the remaining fieldwork. As experienced experts in the fields, they were well acquainted with practical knowledge and recent issues. Although I started to make contact with unknown gatekeepers in the middle stages of the recruitment process, I learned that contacting gatekeepers should be made as early as possible for those reasons. In addition, making an appointment with a gatekeeper did not directly mean their agreement with the recruitment plan, because the gatekeeper can change his/ her mind during the meeting. Therefore, giving the gatekeepers the information sheets for participants, and flyers should be suggested after his/ her permission is given for the recruitment to go ahead. When I had the first meeting with a gatekeeper, I attempted to show all of the materials about the interview from the beginning. This behaviour seemed to make the gatekeeper feel overwhelmed and confused. Therefore, instead of much information, giving simple but exact explanations of what they would like know would be the respectful attitude. For this, an information sheet for gatekeepers was enough at first. The

information sheets (for gatekeepers and respondents) included enough information about the

Table 5.4 Recruiting methods and Interview venue

interviews. However, the core information should be stressed again in a different way. The key recruitment criteria that I wanted to emphasise with gatekeepers was aiming to have a 'Comfortable conversation for one hour with a partnered dual-earner mother who is currently employed and has at least one child under 12 years old'. Despite the information, I was occasionally introduced to someone who was not targeted such as a mother resigned from her job or a working mother rearing a middle schooler. Therefore, I made an additional memo on a coloured paper including the recruitment criteria. The memo allowed gatekeepers and respondents to recognize the key information at a look.

No. of respondents	How recruited	Where interviewed		
		Home ⁶	Cafe ⁷	Workplace ⁸ / nursery ⁹
5	• Gatekeepers ¹	1	2	2
4	• Snowballing ²		4	1
9	• Personal network: ◦ <i>by gatekeeper</i> ³	1	3	5
1	◦ <i>by respondent</i> ⁴ (<i>snowballing</i>)	1		
3	◦ <i>my acquaintance</i> ⁵	1	1	1
23	Total Respondents	4	10	9
22	Total people who helped the recruitment	-	-	-
Notes ¹ The gatekeepers indicate unknown people who had rights to permit the recruitment. ² The snowballing is the recruitment through introductions by initial participants. ³ Those gatekeepers are different from gatekeepers ¹ , they have been acquainted with me and helped the recruitment. ⁴ This case means the snowballing by the respondent who has been acquainted with me. This snowballing is different from snowballing ² in that snowballing ² is the recruitment by the respondents who have not been acquainted with me before meeting for the interviews. ⁵ All three respondents were my acquaintances who were directly contacted by me. ⁶ Most were conducted in the home of the respondents, but one was in the home of a person who helped the recruitment. ⁷ The café refers to franchising café, private-owned café or study café. ⁸ The workplace has two types of places either in own office room or in a vacant room (e.g. meeting room). ⁹ Counselling rooms for parents were used either for teachers or for parents in those nurseries.				

Interviewing

There were three places where the interviews occurred based on the preferences of respondents; the home, a Café or the workplace or nursery (see Table 5.4 above). Four respondents wanted to have the interviews at home and we used vacant rooms or sitting rooms in their houses. The houses seemed to be the most comfortable places for them, since the familiarity was effective for leading natural and relaxed atmosphere. Three respondents had the interviews while their children were staying elsewhere at a formal childcare facilities and the fourth respondent made her husband look after their children during the interview. Meeting at home generally could facilitate quiet interview without noise or disturbance, but two respondents had to receive registered mail or parcels for about one or two minutes. It was anticipated that home might be the most preferred places. However, many respondents preferred café or workplace to home.

Some mothers could not have enough time to tidy up their houses especially on working days, which was partly related to gendered division of household labour. Meanwhile, some mothers living with a mother-in-law predicted stories about their mother-in-law by the information sheet. They thus wanted to have the interview outside home. Indeed, majority of respondents seemed to prefer café to other places, which was nearby home or the workplace.

Cafés can be easily found in Korea within a short distance from workplaces in a small town as well as in a high street. While several respondents suggested a café they had used before, most respondents gave the choice of places to me. For searching a suitable place, I considered several points. Firstly, a quiet and not-crowded café was the vital requirement. In general, franchising coffee shops (e.g. Starbucks, EDIYA) were always crowded and provided uncomfortable chairs despite the advantages of inexpensive prices and easy accessibility. Since the crowded atmosphere can disturb confidentiality and comfortable conversation, private-owned café was a better choice than the franchises in terms of wide spaces and calm atmosphere. Despite relatively expensive price, the cafés having partitions or walls (between tables) and comfortable settee were ideal for conducting face-to-face interviews. In order to keep the confidentiality, a study café was the best option. In Korea, the study café has been designed for group study with many small rooms which enabled me to conduct interviews in a separate space. In this regard, cafés were generally effective places in terms of offering various options for selecting an appropriate place. Respondents could easily arrive at a café with a map sent by mobile phone beforehand. They could narrate their stories without bothering with family members or colleagues. However, there were several difficulties experienced by the interview venue.

The first difficulty was the noise problem (mentioned above) which was considerably resolved after using private-owned café or study café. Moreover, I arrived at a café at least 15 minutes in advance in order to take a seat in a quiet and separated space. It was also helpful for keeping confidentially as well as blocking noise. The second problem was relevant to a space for children. Two respondents accompanied with one child each. One respondent could let her husband take care of her daughter in a playing space provided by the café, and another respondent made her son (school child) read books or draw pictures at the close table. Though the schoolchild concentrated on reading and drawing, he obviously looked bored as time passed one hour. Therefore, if a respondent will accompany a child, a kids' café, kids' book café, or children's public library can be suitable choices for children.

In terms of reducing the noise and difficulties of caring for a child during an interview, workplace and nursery could be good alternatives to homes or cafes. Five respondents were interviewed in their offices and one respondent was interviewed in a day nursery where her children attended. Noticeably, three respondents had interviews in a day nursery where they were employed as a

teacher or a member of staff. Those venues offered quiet and separated spaces for the interviews. Several respondents used their own office rooms which could be familiar space for them. However, they were difficult to be free from calling or knocking by colleagues at times. Some respondents used a meeting room or a vacant office room where there were rarely any interruptions by someone. These places were useful for having more relaxed interviews than people's own offices. One respondent interviewed in her children's nursery also could have a comfortable interview in a separate counselling room while her children were cared by teachers. The gatekeeper (nursery director) willingly arranged the room. Likewise, three other respondents had their interviews in a similar counselling room of the nursery.

In most cases, the respondents could have enough time for the interviews, because they tended to confirm the interviews after careful checking of work schedules such as right after finishing an important project, or immediately prior to summer holidays, or arranging the interview time by employer. On the contrary, two respondents felt time pressure during the interviews. One of them had to leave the office within one hour and another mother suddenly had to assume unexpected overtime until late at night, though they made efforts to provide useful interview data. In addition, protection of privacy could be a challenging issue. In comparison with home or café, the invasion of privacy could be easily happened in workplace or nursery due to the accessibility by colleagues or employer.

In order to keep the privacy, some respondents hung a door sign such as 'Meeting in progress' or 'Conference room-Occupied'. Furthermore, given my work experience at an institute, I firstly asked about how far the soundproof was effective, because I knew the possibility for poor soundproof despite walls between rooms. In that cases, we tried to keep speaking softly during the interview. Given the inflexible culture in Korean organizations (as discussed in chapter two), the respondents interviewed in their offices generally had continued either long working experiences or unique businesses, which enabled them to invite an interviewer (outsider). Otherwise, one employer directly invited me as mentioned above. Accordingly, except for those cases, workplace could not be the suitable interview place for most employees. Therefore, it seems that interview venue also reflects the personal background of respondents.

5.3 Managing and Analysing Data

The data for the study were generated through the use of topic guides and it was recorded through audio-recording, although a pencil and paper were also used for brief note-taking. In

order to explore people's experiences or views, the audio-recording has been used as an essential equipment for saving a large amount of information (Braun and Clarke, 2013). Before each interview, researchers certainly need to check the quality of sound, the state of battery charge. They also have to prepare extra batteries and a back-up recording device. In practice, the interview contents were recorded by two devices; a (typical) audio-recorder and a mobile application for recording at the same time in case one went wrong. Besides, during the fieldwork, I wrote field note which has been known as a useful strategy, especially for novice qualitative researcher (Bircks and Mills, 2011). Field notes enable researchers to keep track of new themes emerging, because it is possible to capture information which audio-recording missed such as details of situations experienced by them (Bernard and Ryan, 2010). The field notes of this research included physical environment, immediate responses to the interaction, participants' non-verbal behaviour, checking for data saturation, ideas for next interviews and for data analysis. I usually wrote the notes as soon as I finished interview, so that I could record accurate information. Sometimes, I immediately documented the notes by using audio-recorder if there was no time for handwriting. The notes were quite useful in terms of reducing mistakes and leading to better progress. For instance, it was important to use a new battery for each interview in order to avoid running out of power during an interview. Throughout the fieldwork period, the whole process was cautiously treated according to ethical considerations.

Ethics

Before I went to Korea for field work, I submitted an ethical approval form to the Social Policy and Social Work Departmental Ethics Committee. It was approved on 19. 05. 2014 and a letter confirming the approval was attached to the appendix 1. Ethical issues should be carefully considered especially in social research involving human beings, because the process itself can possibly have an influence on them in any unknown way (Matthews and Ross 2010). Thus, researchers should stick to considering the ethical issues with maximum standards (Braun and Clarke 2013). The Social Research Association (2003, henceforth 'SRA') has drawn up ethical guidelines according to the obligations to society, funders, employers, colleagues, and subjects. In here, the guideline for subjects will be mainly discussed, given the types of this study (PhD thesis) without involving any funder or colleagues. SRA (2003) emphasized that the researchers must always judge themselves whether their action will be ethically acceptable or not regardless of respondents' awareness. Given the principle, SRA (2003) set up obligations to subjects as follows: "avoiding undue intrusion, obtaining informed consent, modifications to informed consent, protecting the interests of subjects, enabling participation, maintaining confidentiality of records, and preventing disclosure of identities". Based on this, the next parts will describe how this study tried to keep to the ethical guidelines.

Gaining informed consent is the essential procedure for recruiting subjects. Since researchers need to receive the consent before embarking the research (Miller and Bell, 2002), the consent process was carefully considered while recruiting the respondents. Matthews and Ross (2010) explained how to fill out the consent form (appendix 3) and information sheets (appendix 4, 5). Researchers should suggest definite and sufficient information describing what will happen to participants. The information sheet of this research described the research aims, gave brief information about the interview process and ethical considerations as well as pointing out practical implications for potential respondents. Potential participants saw a flyer (appendix 2) and received the information sheets which included my contact details. Participants verbally agreed to participate on the phone. In some cases, it was necessary to obtain permissions from gatekeepers, since they can exert their influences on the access to participants (Miller and Bell, 2002). Thus, I separately prepared the information sheet for gatekeepers (appendix 4). When I met the respondents on the interview date, I explained the ethical considerations again, and they signed the consent form. It was confirmed again when thanking them for their participation later on.

It was important to take account of respondent's privacy as the overriding concern. Even though respondents agreed with participation, they can feel uncomfortable or sometimes aggressive (SRA, 2003). Especially, in the face-to-face setting, most participants cannot help but continuing in the inconvenienced situation. (SRA, 2003). Since the interview of this research focuses on self-experiential statements in typical life, the questions were generally not quite sensitive or risky (e.g. ethical/ religious issues). Nonetheless, I had to consider the possibility that the same experience can be accepted positively or negatively according to current situations of respondents (British Sociological Association 2002, henceforth 'BSA'). In that sense, I anticipated the danger of emotional damage due to questions about private life in particular familial relationships. For instance, if a mother has conflict with mother-in-law at that moment, the question in terms of relationships with the mother-in-law can possibly cause emotional burden. Thus, I repeatedly ensured that there was no need to feel under pressure to answer if they felt uncomfortable. In order avoid the invasions, I reviewed the checklist of safe procedure provided by Iphofen (2009: p. 88-90), and relevant guidelines stated by BSA (2002). Since it was a one-time interview lasting about one hour in a day, I expected there might be no other impacts on interviewees later on. However, the privacy also can be invaded if researchers would use the collected data without additional consent (SRA, 2003). Accordingly, respondents were assured about how the interview data will be used, and how the data will be discarded after completing the research study.

I was responsible for keeping the interview data in a confidential way. SRA (2003) highlighted the guarantee of data protection, which should not be accessed by anybody without consent or

identification. Above all, the data needs to be saved safely in a secure place. After finishing each interview, the files were immediately moved from the recorder to encrypted file store 'M: drive' installed for staffs and students at The University of York. The drive is safe, because it is only accessible by student ID and password. While I stayed in Korea, I was able to access to the file store (M: drive) via Virtual Private Network (VPN). I transcribed the audio data to text forms as soon as possible. Consent forms were copied with using a scanner. Accordingly, all the files including audio files, the transcribed scripts and the scanned consent forms were saved in the M: drive as electronic documents. The data will be used only for this PhD thesis and following publications based on the thesis.

These efforts are also related to keeping the anonymity of respondents. Researchers need to take all the possible measures to prevent exposure of respondents' identities (SRA, 2003). Especially, researchers must be careful not to disclose the private information in reporting the findings (Matthews and Ross, 2010). The personal information was anonymised from transcribing to reporting results. Although it was initially planned to use pseudonym, this study did not use any name. Instead, case number indicated each case study (see chapter seven) and the case studies described by using pronouns such as "She was engaged in a professional job involving frequent overtime." According to the research topics, the brief information about jobs and children's age were necessarily required to describe, because some findings without the information might interrupt understanding of the statements. The reported information were as follows; occupational positions (e.g. professional or unskilled jobs), employment status (e.g. full-time or part-time jobs), frequency of overtime, household income, mothers' education level, family size, and child's age. Respondents were informed about confidentiality and anonymity at least three times. Firstly, the information sheet and consent form described the duties in detail. It was verbally confirmed before commencing interviews. Finally, it was informed again when I expressed gratitude for the participation later on. Whilst careful thought had to be given to ethics and data generation, it was also important to consider questions about how to conduct data analysis.

Data Analysis

In order to handle the data in the interview transcripts, the framework approach was adopted which offered key processes in five stages; 1) familiarization, 2) identifying a thematic framework,

3) indexing, 4) charting, and 5) mapping (and) interpretation (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994). In terms of using a software package, this study did not use any software, because using Microsoft Excel was quite enough to follow the processes of the framework approach. Kim, YJ (2005) who was an author of one of key references also did not use any software due to different languages between collected data (Korean) and written language for reporting results (English), which may possibly cause confusions in the processes of framework approach. All the analysis processes were conducted in my mother language (Korean) before writing the draft of finding chapters, given that I interviewed in Korean and I speak and think in Korean. The analysis processes will be described as follows.

According to the framework approach for analysing data (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994), first of all, I had to be familiar myself with the raw data as a whole. I repeatedly read the transcripts (with field notes) more than three times rather than doing any other works (e.g. detecting themes) at the same time. I developed a thematic framework in order to sort the data. The analytical framework (table 5.2) was also helpful for outlining this data analysis framework in excel. This was because the initial analytical framework adopted from Skinner (2003) tends to reflect the research interests proposed in those materials early on (Matthews and Ross, 2010). Since this study also applied the conceptual basis of Skinner's (2003) work based on English cases (which enabled me to collect relevant data by using purposive sampling), this meant the data analysis employed both deductive and inductive approaches in terms of identifying new themes arising out of Korean data. This is an acceptable approach now in qualitative analysis even though originally the approach of grounded theorists such as Glaser and Strauss (1967) stressed 'no prior theoretical basis' as the best way to conduct systematic research for linking research data and theory. However, grounded theorists of the second generation tended to accept using previous theories on the basis of ontological and epistemological assumptions (Bircks and Mills, 2011).

The initial thematic framework I designed in excel looked like a list of (provisional) themes and sub-themes which had their own numbers such as 1 which was used as an index. For example, 'choice of childcare' was the first main theme and 'strategies for arranging satisfied childcare' was a sub-theme indexed as 1.5. After making the index, I returned to the transcripts and I put the index numbers next to the relevant statements. The next step was making a chart using excel spread sheets. Each sheet included one main theme and relevant sub-themes. From this stage, I reviewed the data across themes rather than reading across cases in order to sort out the data according to the themes. I summarized original statements in the transcripts to capture the key elements under the relevant themes and then moved the summaries to the excel sheets.

I tried to detect key elements from the summaries and developed new charts in order to list the elements by using key words or short sentences. Key dimensions were thus separately organized

to categorize the relevant key elements into one dimension, which was defined as 'mapping' by Ritchie and Spencer (1994). Those data were collated and interpreted in order to construct new knowledge of the respondents' real world in terms of epistemological perspectives (Gray, 2009). Thus, the final stage 'interpretation' involved defining and labelling concepts, making interconnections, creating typologies, selecting cases, and providing explanations. In terms of generalizability, the typicality was firstly considered in order to increase the possibilities for representing the whole population of the sample (Silverman, 2010). However, while selecting key cases (chapter seven), the diversity alongside the typicality was also importantly considered as long as the deviant cases could contribute to assist robustness of the analysis.

I paid special attention to the data saturation from sampling to analysis. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), the saturation can be found if there are no new codes or sub-categories identified. It involves researcher's judgement whether it seems to require further data and further analysis or not. Researchers need to decide whether the collected data would be enough to answer research questions or not (Bryman, 2012). While it was not a major issue at the initial stage in both field work and analysis, at some point, I started to consider the data saturation. In order to make a decision, I tried to cross refer the interview data to the research questions. This work aimed to check whether the data can address those questions and there are any new themes emerged. Even though researchers find it difficult to exactly anticipate a proper sample size beforehand (Bryman, 2012), at this stage, I assumed about 23 cases would be enough for the attainment of data saturation and stopped recruiting. Likewise, it was considered throughout the analysis, since all the stages were highly interrelated each other. I repeatedly returned previous stages in particular checking research questions. I dealt with all the data until I mapped the key dimensions. At the stage in interpretation, I stopped constructing typologies and adding cases when I reasoned that nothing could be added in the analysis.

Conclusion

Chapter five has provided an account of the methods of collecting data and analysis used in this study. This study adopted a qualitative approach to understand the everyday experiences of Korean working mothers. The research aims and questions offered rationales for determining the choice of qualitative methods and this choice was underpinned by ontological and epistemological assumptions. Though it mainly involved qualitative methods, the thesis also used an original quantitative analysis of administrative Korean data on formal childcare services (provided in chapter three). This quantitative analysis was used to form part of the literature review in order to support the qualitative data collected by the empirical research to answer the main research questions of the thesis.

Skinner's framework (2003) provided the conceptual basis of the empirical study and other western literature also contributed to constructing an analytical framework to inform the research design. In Korea, fieldwork was carried out in order to interview 23 Korean working mothers with at least one dependent child, and the interview data was collected by face-to-face and semi-structured interviews involving a topic guide. For the interviews, purposive sampling was conducted and recruitment methods included utilising personal networks, snowballing, and gatekeepers. The most preferred interview venue was café and remaining interviews were conducted at home, day nursery, or workplace. The interview data was analysed based on the framework approach (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994), and excel spread sheets were used from summarizing the transcripts to identifying key dimensions and creating typologies for interpretations. Throughout whole fieldwork and analysis period, ethical issues were carefully considered especially for protecting their privacy and data in a confidential way. The following three chapters will describe the findings arising out of the qualitative analysis.

Chapter Six Childcare Arrangements

Introduction

Chapter Six will examine how the respondents arranged non-parental childcare which seems to be the sort of preparatory practices prior to managing childcare with paid work. The childcare

arrangements will be investigated as the parts of multiple responsibilities that working mothers experienced. Since Chapter Three revealed a lack of research in studying adjustable and negotiable experiences of working mothers, this chapter mainly addresses their individual behaviours and own views in relation to arranging childcare rather than examining challenging contexts surrounding them.

Notably, the central aim of this chapter is to capture the practical processes of arranging childcare for dependent children within the Korean context. Most importantly, Chapter Six provides the background knowledge in order to understand following chapters. Therefore, this chapter would tend to present more descriptive analysis than other chapters focused on analytical interpretations.

This chapter will mainly look at how the childcare was chosen and which benefits were recognized after using the childcare in practice. To understand the types of childcare used by the children, the childcare provision in Korean was briefly described that was shifted from the chapter five. The perceived benefits of selected childcare will focus on the quality and reliability of the childcare itself, whereas the following chapters explored multiple facets of practicalities in line with working hours and daily routines. Generally, the overarching ontological grounds for Chapter Six would be the process and perspectives regarding childcare arrangements. More specifically, the process could accompany various actions, ideas and strategies, and perspectives of mothers which may include diverse views as mothers, employees or consumers of the care services.

6.1 Types of Childcare

To explore various aspects of working mothers' childcare arrangements, it may be useful to look briefly at what types of childcare are arranged in a typical working week. This section will focus on describing the background information of the respondents which may be useful for considering following sections.

Definitions of Employment and Childcare

Full-time work and Part-time work

The Labour Standards Act (2014) in Korea does not stipulate what part-time working hours are. Therefore, most Korean studies tend to use definition by Korea Statistics Commissioner of the Statistics Korea (KOSTAT) (Kim, GS 2012), defining part-time job as working less than 36 hours per week, which is higher than the OECD's standard; 30 hours (OECD, 2016k). Thus, this study will define the term 'part-time work' as working less than 36 hours per week (8 respondents). Thus, here, 'full-time work' means working more than 36 hours per week (15 respondents).

Formal childcare for preschool children (0-5 years old)

To examine the available choices of childcare, Table 6.1 will display brief information about childcare provisions in Korea, providing summary of discussions in Chapter Three. The Table will demonstrate the outline for understanding following analysis. In Korea, there are two forms of formal childcare for preschool-aged children; day nursery and nursery school as seen in the second and third row of Table 6.1. Day nursery (for 0-6 year old) is ruled under the Childcare Act (2015) administrated by Ministry of Health and Welfare and the Act specified seven types of day nurseries including one type of public nursery and six types of private-oriented nursery. Another form of preschool care is nursery school which aims to provide whole-rounded education for preschool children from three years old under the Early Childhood Education Act (2015) enforced by Ministry of Education. According to the Act, there are two types of public nursery schools and one type of private nursery schools.

Formal childcare for primary school children (6-12 years old)

As noted in chapter three, children aged six years old are obliged to receiving school education lasting for six years (comprised of six grades). After regular classes (approximately, 8.30-14.00), children can use Out of School-Hours (OSH) programs at school site or outside of school, and these programs are public childcare funded by the government. Primary schools shall run OSH programs including afterschool education classes and three types of care-classes (morning, afternoon, and evening) under the administrative rule of Elementary and Secondary Education Curriculum (No. 2013-7). Moreover, there are two types of OSH programs operating outside of school. The local child centre provides the afterschool service regulated by Child Welfare Act (2015) and there are small numbers of youth centres (for children aged 9-12 years) according to Framework Act on Juveniles (2016).

Informal institution-based care: Hak-won (Private learning centre, 0-12 years old)

Though Hak-won (henceforth, HW) is not a formal childcare registered by a governmental agency, HW will be mentioned in here, because it is the most typical afterschool childcare for primary school children in Korea. In broad terms, the education programmes of HW mainly offer either academic learning (e.g. English for better marks) or activities as interests (e.g. taekwondo-traditional martial).

Formal In-home care by I-dolbom service for children (0-12 years old)

i-dolbom service aims to offer formal in-home care service for children aged 0 to 12 years old children. According to the i-dolbom Support Act (2016), the local agencies send a trained caregiver to child's home.

Table 6. 1 Summary of Childcare Provisions in Korea

	Name of childcare	Type of care - education	Age of child users	Operating hours	Formal or Informal / place	Public or Private	Types of Payment
Preschool Children	Day Nursery (x 7 types)	Care	0-5	7.30 to 19.30	Formal / Institution	1-Public 6-Private	Free or Subsidised payment
	Nursery School (x 3 types)	Education	3-5	8.45 to 14.15. (Statistically)	Formal / Institution	2-Public 1-Private	Subsidised Payment
School Children	OSH – in school (x 2 types)	Education and Care	6-12	7.00-22.00 (Outside School hours)	Formal / Institution	All-Public	Subsidised Payment
	OSH – outside school (x 2 types)	Education and Care	6-12 or 9-12	14.00-20.00 or 21.00 (after school)	Formal / Institution	All-Public	Subsidised payment
All Children	Grandmother Or babysitter	Care	0-12	All day care in general	Informal / home	Private	Paid or not paid (see Ch.8)
	Hak-Won	Education	0-12	One or Two-hour basis	Informal / Institution	Private	Paid
	I-dolbom	Care	0-12	Two-hour basis	Formal / home	Public	Subsidised payment

Note: This table has been summarised from chapter 5 (section 5.1) which examined available childcare provisions in Korea. Thus, this table may also include the childcare that was not actually used by the respondents.

Types of Childcare Used

Types of childcare used across respondents

Table 6.2 illustrates the types of childcare that were actually used by children according to mother's employment status and the age of children (grouped into pre-school or school age). In total, 15 out of the 23 mothers worked full-time (ranging between 40-55 hours per week) and 8 out of the 23 mothers worked part-time hours (ranging between 15-30 hours per week). The 23 respondents have 36 children in total.

As seen in Table 6.2 (third and fifth columns), many part-time workers predominantly arranged formal care only (seven out of eight), while full-time workers tended to combine formal and informal childcare (nine out of fifteen). In other words, the use of formal childcare not having informal care mainly appears to part-time mothers. Not surprisingly perhaps, full-time jobs

involving longer working hours than part-time jobs seem to require longer care supported by informal care in addition to formal care.

Using formal childcare or informal childcare

When it comes to using formal childcare without informal care, most preschool children used day nursery or nursery school which offered half-day or all day childcare, and one child unusually used both institutions in a day. Based on the formal facilities, some children additionally used HW or I-dolbom service on hourly basis. Meanwhile, School aged children generally needed shorter hours of childcare than preschool children due to compulsory school education at least until afternoon. Thus, their childcare types generally seem to be sessional programs such as afterschool class (OHS), HW, or youth centre.

The use of informal childcare excluding formal care was only found amongst full-time workers with preschool children (four cases, fourth column of Table 6.2). Especially, it is notable that all the children were less than three years old and grandmothers looked after those children. This result suggests that how the informal caregiver, in particular, the grandmother, may be the crucial carer for full-time working mothers raising infants.

Combining formal and informal childcare

As mentioned earlier, the most common pattern of arranging childcare was combining formal and informal childcare, especially found among the respondents especially those with full-time jobs (9 out of 10 cases). In terms of the combination for preschool children, mothers arranged the both types of care available for providing either all-day care or at least half-day care. For instance, five children of four mothers were cared by day nursery and grandmothers. Day nursery generally expects to offer care services from 7.30 to 19.30 (under the Childcare Act 2015), and a grandmother may be expected to provide flexible care times. Hence, combining both care types seem to be helpful arrangement for full-time working mothers who may need long and flexible childcare. Another mother-allocated nursery school is based on half-day program with a resident baby sitter. The sitter staying in the house during the week could fully cover outside-of-nursery school hours. One mother hired a baby sitter alternating turn with the grandmother in a week, and both informal carers looked after the children before/after the formal childcare times.

In relation to school children, the grandmother was still important carer (for three out of four school children' mothers). Full-time working mothers significantly valued allocating reliable care instead, and they indicated the problems with shortages of reliable care facilities, especially for school children, which seems to be one of reasons for the large dependence on grandmother care. In addition, they arranged after school care provided by OSH, HW, or the cooperative care class.

Though afterschool programs were generally provided for short terms (1-2 hours), two cases showed that they used the facilities for about half-day. Of these, one mother informally negotiated with teachers of HW for long time care and another mother invested funding to build an (informal) afterschool care class for several children in the town. The child went to the cooperative care class after attending OHS at school (around 14.00), and stayed for several hours until 18.00. After returning home, the child was cared by his grandmother until his parents returned from work.

Table 6. 2 Formal and /or informal childcare arranged by respondents

	Number of child in the family	Arranging Formal Childcare	Arranging Informal Childcare	Combining Formal and Informal Childcare
Full-time workers (15 mothers)	One child		4	3
	Two children	2		6
Part-time workers (8 mothers)	One child	3		1
	Two/ three children	4		
Total	23 mothers	9	4	10

6.2 Choosing Childcare

This section will examine how mothers selected their childcare for them and their children. Though reasons for selecting the current childcare were varied, this section aims to explore key factors impacting on the process of selecting childcare. In fact, the process was not always done in sequential steps and choices happen more or less simultaneously. Nevertheless, the act of choosing childcare could be categorised based on the key themes from the data, which generally outlined the series of procedures.

Gathering Information

The ways of collecting information

Mothers used their own techniques so that they could actively seek information about childcare providers who were unknown to them. Mothers perceived the personal network as the most important way in order to ensure more truthful and practical information than the internet. The personal networks mainly came from other mothers in neighbourhood who brought up children in similar age, and one mother could collect important information through her working experience as a day nursery teacher. One mother spoke of her own strategy for finding new information. She asked about recent tendency of private education (e.g. popular learning centre

for school child in the town) to her child's friend, because she felt some non-working mothers who formed their own networks might tend to hesitate to share their information with working mothers. However, the most common technique was still internet searching, though many mothers were not quite sure how far the internet information might be reliable and accurate.

There were diverse ways of finding information through the internet. In order to look for formal care, mothers firstly searched available care places by means of (local) government's website offering official information. One mother used a web-site of a human resource's office in order to hire a baby sitter. For more practical information, mothers signed up to a number of informal websites operated for mothers. They reviewed the use experiences and reputations of the facilities in which they were interested. Unusually, one mother attended a briefing session introducing five newly established workplace's day nurseries for employees. Since the nurseries were not opened at that time, the briefing session was the only way to collect information. Apart from the new information, previous experiences could become information by itself. One mother explained that she naturally narrowed the scope of childcare choices due to negative experiences from the specific care providers (e.g. unreliable private baby sitter), and the experiences consequently helped for finding appropriate information of childcare.

In these ways, mothers generally struggled for finding information from diverse routes such as personal network, internet, a friend of child, and own experiences. Nonetheless, the collected information occasionally brought unexpected results after using the childcare. For instance, when a mother worried about selecting either day nursery or nursery school, the most information (from the internet and acquaintances) generally seemed to agree that there is not serious difference of education level between the two institutions. She thus expected the day nursery may offer similar level education with a nursery school. However, the selected nursery merely focused on activity-oriented programs rather than academic learning. She thereby considered changing the facility for the preparations of school education. In that sense, the general information could possibly have the limitations of usefulness in reality. Therefore, mothers took into account the specific needs of children.

Considering child's age and child's characteristics

Mothers considered the individual age of their children as the main reason of childcare choice. Especially, mothers who had infants or school students at higher stages emphasized the age. Briefly, the former concentrated on safe care from a reliable caregiver, and the latter stressed on

academic achievement. Five mothers who raised infants (less than 3 years) explained they could not help deciding on grandmother care owing to the concerns about child's young age. Two of them anticipated the collective care at institutional setting may not fit with their infants yet. However, more importantly, mothers generally felt afraid of infant care by unknown people, because the children could possibly be exposed to relatively unhealthy and unreliable environment. The negative recognition was mainly caused by reported news (e.g. child abuse by a nursery teacher) and the experiences of mothers' acquaintances. Meanwhile, two mothers having children aged 9-12 recounted they had to start to be responsible for managing children's marks as their children were getting older. It appears that age range of children in both high and low extremes seems to require definite needs according to their developmental stage.

The own characteristics of children were also carefully regarded, in particular, health conditions of infants. Two mothers explained since their children were premature babies who frequently got sick, they chose grandmother care at home. By the same token, one mother selected a small sized home-based nursery instead of a large facility for her sickly child who needed comfortable care environment. The temperament of children was also crucial parts of characteristics. One mother could not choose collective care due to child's tricky temperament. She thought her son has sensitive and introverted nature which probably might cause child's maladjustment to the collective care at institution. Likewise, two mothers with tricky children looked for a facility accommodating small number of children for intensive care. In contrast, another mother wanted a large space for her energetic child. Children's interests, aptitudes were also important factors (five cases) for finding formal childcare such as child's outstanding language ability. Some mothers tended to respect the opinions of older children especially for school aged children.

In brief, the subjective views of mothers on children were crucially reflected in the process of selecting such as what their children are like, what their children's needs are, which childcare would be matched with the needs of the children. It appears that those perspectives played important roles in finding a suitable childcare for children. Nevertheless, own perspective on children could possibly be appeared in a different way if a child might encounter strange situation. For instance, one mother initially expected her daughter might be enough to fit with collective care because of her sociality and activeness. On the contrary, she had to find the strongly possessive and self-centred aspect in the child, rather, it caused harm to other children. Mothers were responsible for dealing with that sort of unexpected situations after the registration.

Besides, mothers checked practicalities such as matching time with working hours of mothers, distance (stressing on close proximity), travel time, traffic safety or convenient journey for grandmothers. These practical arrangements will be identified throughout chapter seven and

chapter eight. With these practical factors, mothers examined the quality of childcare among available options.

Judging Quality

Accreditation

Choosing childcare was namely the process of looking for trustful care provider. For the reliability, seven mothers checked official or unofficial confirmation. For instance, three mothers selected the nurseries which were officially accredited by accreditation system of day nursery. Similarly, one mother selected a public day nursery because it was established by the local government. While arranging informal care, three mothers crucially made sure of the reliability by working experience of caregivers as a babysitter or hospital nurse. One of them employed a baby sitter who had raised a girl for ten years. She could have convinced in hiring her, because the grandmother of child already identified her record by the by the introduction of a close acquaintance. Above all, the mother had high regard not only for the long experience but also for the commonalities between the girl and her daughter in terms of age and gender. She thus expected the similar experiences would be helpful for rearing her own child. In general, mothers had to rely on visible information such as official accreditation, because quality of care cannot be experienced beforehand. Nonetheless, some mothers strategically took steps to judge the quality rather than depending on the objective information.

Self-Assessment

Five mothers had own standards which included priority or preference in order to look for appropriate childcare for them. In terms of formal childcare, three mothers considered whether teachers were frequently changed or not. They believed that a high staff turnover would imply poor working conditions of teachers which could possibly cause uncomfortable environment for children. In that sense, they anticipated a probability that the turnover could be the result of the director's problematic personality which could be serious barrier for stable childcare. One mother thus tried to directly check the personality of the director by having enough time for talk. Other two mothers explained the importance of checking whether the pre-arranged curriculum would be maintained as planned or not. Of these, one mother felt disappointed with arbitrary change of the curriculum due to opinions of mothers who wanted to adjust the curriculum in favour of their own children.

Based on the collected information and own standards, some mothers checked the quality of care by approaching the prospective carers. Five mothers visited several day nurseries or nursery schools before the registration. Four of them described similar key words stressing on 'bright,

clean and wide place' and these were the important elements for the checking whether the care place has a comfortable environment. At the same time, one mother carefully watched the children staying at the nursery so that she could see how healthy and happy they looked. One mother visited facilities after 18.00 in order to check how many children remained and how they were cared for by teachers, because she was about to seek a day-time job. Some mothers had consultations with directors as well as teachers, which gave them a first impression of the carers. The consultation tends to be an interview from the view of mothers, because the consultation may make mothers decide whether they will be a consumer of the childcare service or not.

In conclusion, mothers wanted to check the quality with deliberation as much as possible, even if there were not enough options such as two available nurseries fitted with their situations. It seems that this approach is much more active and practical strategy rather than collecting information only. Nevertheless, accurate prediction is limited in extent as a potential customer, because those actions were more likely to check superficial information opened to people in general. Accordingly, it can be concluded that the customers of childcare service might not be able to judge actual pros and cons until their children use the service in practice, as the service is basically provided by persons who might accompany various variables.

Self-assessment of childcare Versus Experiences

In relation to the gaps between initial judgements and realities, one mother worried about the teacher in charge when she firstly visited the nursery, because the teacher looked too young to care young children. She registered the nursery after consultation with director looking trustful. However, contrary to the expectation, it turned out the young teacher had two children, and the director was an unmarried woman. She assumed that's why the director repeatedly gave not quite realistic advices regarding child rearing, and the teacher was more helpful than the director, though she was a newly appointed teacher. That is, she found that the actual experiences of rearing a child (as a mother) could be a crucial eligibility for being a competent nursery teacher, which may be more useful than teaching experiences. Regarding the institutional-based care, the quality of care also seems to be related to the quality of director. One mother felt that 90 per cent of care quality in a nursery definitely depended on the attribute of nursery director. She realized that a director who has a great education philosophy could positively influence on the attitudes of teachers towards children. She thus changed her mind of changing the nursery while her children underwent maladjustment in the nursery early on.

However, it seems that it was probably impossible to notice the quality of teachers or directors in detail before they actually experienced them. One mother thereby mentioned that how a teacher will be like is an 'unknown world'. She barely succeeded in enrolling for a public day nursery with

high expectation in terms of quality. Nevertheless, she started to doubt whether the teacher was personally qualified well to teach young children. Several children left the class due to the teacher despite other advantages of the nursery as a public institution. The mother thus concluded that whether someone will meet a caregiver with good personality seems to be completely random. Similarly, another mother underwent a baby sitter who seemed to be not quite generous to her disabled child. Nevertheless, she was careful for casting aspersions on the sitter, because it was not easy to find a baby sitter having a driving licence which was the necessary qualification for transporting her children. Since the driving ability was the top priority of all eligibility requirements in hiring process, she could not envisage other invisible situations (e.g. personality) in depth. Due to the circumstances without any alternative yet, she once tried to understand the behaviour of the babysitter, as that elderly generation which tended not to be well-educated in relation to equal treatment of children with disabilities. These results demonstrated the situations caused by unexpected results of arranged childcare, and also shows experiences and views of the mothers as a consumer of childcare service.

Quality and Availability

In most cases, mothers who considered the arrangement processes tended to finish the decision-making in arranging care as long as there is an available one fitted with their preferences of the quality. Some mothers firstly checked the availability of childcare during collecting information, and they fully judged the quality of care within the available options. On the contrary, several mothers did not consider many factors, because they prioritized the availability of care place. Accordingly, eight mothers immediately registered in an available place for their children. This sort of registration presented two patterns.

Waiting list

Four mothers have been offered a place from a nursery while they had been placed on the waiting list for long times. In common, the nurseries have been known as high quality such as nurseries established by a major company or government, and they registered straight away as soon as they were informed about the vacancy.

'I had waited more than one year on the waiting list, because enrolling to workplace nursery generally involves very competitive processes among the employees. Workplace nursery is known as high quality and availability of night care, but the supply seems not quite enough to accept high demands.

(Full-time worker with a child aged 22 months attending a workplace day nursery).

Urgency of need

Other four mothers had to find available places within a short time due to house removal or returning to job. They could not have enough time to check the quality of care. The mothers were in a hurry to enrol for the facilities, even though the objective information about the quality was not confirmed. They commonly stated that the private institutions generally showed high availability compared to public institutions.

'I had to find a new childcare as soon as possible, because I just moved the house in this town. Though the registration of public nursery school was regarded as 'winning the lottery', luckily, there was an 'window' of opportunity for the registration without going through the horrible lottery, because this nursery school was newly established in here, newly developed town (which is thinly populated yet). Above all, the great advantage of public nursery school is highly qualified teachers who passed (known as extremely challenging) the national examination' (Part-time worker with a child aged five attending a public nursery school).

'I had no time to find a new nursery in order to return to my job shortly after childcare leave. It was not proper time to register a nursery, because the semester was already started. What is worse, we recently moved the house, which made me struggle to find the new one due to lack of information about this town. To be honest, I just hoped to register anywhere which could accept my children at that time rather than considering lots of things' (Full-time worker, with two children (4 and 2 years) attending a private day nursery and home-based nursery each).

6.3 Perceived benefits of different types of childcare

This section will explore how mothers perceived the selected childcare after using them in practice. Since the statements of mothers predominantly featured positive aspects of the childcare, this section will focus on the benefits in order to look at in what extent arranged childcare was supportive according to types of care.

Benefits of Formal Childcare Institutions for Pre-school aged children

As noted earlier (Table 6.1), pre-school children can use two types of formal institutions (day nursery or nursery school) which included either public or private institutions according to

relevant Acts. Based on mothers' statements, the formal institutions could be classified into special-purpose institutions and high quality institutions according to major benefits of each facility.

Private Home-based Day Nursery

Mothers discovered the benefits which have been suitable for the child's situation. The benefits were especially found in the institutions for specific children, which mainly included day nurseries providing exclusive service for infants. Five mothers raising infants sent their children to facilities which only accommodated children under three years old. The five institutions were commonly home-based day nurseries³⁸, characterized by home-like environments with less than 20 children. The environment had benefits in terms of the quiet and clean settings and concentrated care from a low teacher-children ratio. As the most noticeable benefit, three mothers addressed feeling a partnership with directors as well as teachers. Since the directors managing a small facility could individually care for each child, mothers described that advice from the directors as helpful for a better understanding of their own children.

In addition to the familial support from the teachers, one mother explained her child who had been looking gloomy apparently became a high-spirited child after attending the nursery. Above all, the child could learn appropriate modelling at their age from older children in the home-like nursery, because she could not watch that sort of a modelling at home with her developmentally disabled sister. In relation to the family-like circumstance, another mother constantly used one home-based day nursery more than eight years for her two children. Thus, the director has been responsible for them from infant care (in the past) to afterschool care at present. The mother thus thought that the director has been the expert in caring her children for over the eight years (see case study 7 in chapter 7). In conclusion, the mothers recognized the main advantages of home-based nursery as small but comfortable care places especially for infants. The home nurseries thus seemed to make up for the limitations of facility-based to some extent.

Private Nursery School

Private institutions seemed to provide more flexible curriculums than public institutions. One mother discovered how the nursery school providing a special program (called 'Reggio-Emilia'

³⁸ A qualified individual can build a small sized day nursery at a home, which can accommodate less than 20 children. The home-based day nursery is similar with the system of childminder in UK in terms of the care place (at home). However, home-based day nursery is basically formal facility which should employ a qualified nursery director and nursery teachers. That is, except for the place, it is operated like other nurseries in terms of providing formal curriculums and management system under the Childcare Act (2015).

approach) was differentiated from other facilities. Instead of standardized education, the nursery school offered various activities in natural life designed to allow children to have broader views on neighbour, nature, and community. Since the children were born and bred in a big city, the mother believed it was a good opportunity for them to observe the natural environment. Regarding other types of special curriculums, two mothers sent their children to English nursery school and Chinese nursery school in order to make them learn foreign languages with native speaking teachers. Though tuition fees were relatively expensive compared to other institutions, those nursery schools provided a low teacher-children ratio and well-organized foreign language curriculums. One mother was satisfied with the Chinese nursery school, because the child's foreign language ability and interest have been evidently boosted by the passionate teachers. In general, the mothers seemed to be satisfied with the educational programs which positively inspired children.

Public Nursery School and Public Day Nursery

Public institutions included the public day nursery and public nursery school, arranged by three mothers. One of them discovered a notable difference between public childcare and other types of care. Since her child's nursery school was attached to a primary school, the whole operation was strictly supervised by the local education office supporting enough funding. Most importantly, the public institutions including a public day nursery do not need to struggle to recruit children due to many applicants on a waiting-list. The mother explained that the teachers might be able to become 'real teachers' who tried to provide a real education for the children, because the mother believed that several private nurseries provided education by showing off performances of children in order to boost enrolments.

I was really happy to hear that this nursery school would not hold 'nursery school play' at the end of the year (likewise many public nursery schools), because I know well (as a former nursery teacher), children could possibly need to prepare the events with intensive trainings like North Korean children playing mass games. (Part-time worker with a child aged five attending a public nursery school).

Besides, teachers at public nursery schools are government officials. The mother was assured the great treatment and welfare from the highly qualified teachers would have a positive effect on care and education. Another public day nursery offered exclusive service for the disabled. The director was an expert in special education, provided specific programs and environments only for developmentally disabled children. The mother felt satisfied with the details of the programs which were perfectly matched with the conditions of her child. Briefly, mothers using public institutions mentioned high quality of care provided by professionals as the main advantage, which seemed to positively influence reliability.

Workplace Day Nursery

Like public institutions, the workplace day nursery is one of facilities not burdened with recruiting children due to high quality care and a long waiting list. The workplace nursery is usually established by major company or government organizations as a benefit for employees, which would be high quality. Three mothers using the workplace nurseries addressed the highly qualified teachers with at least a bachelor's degree and passed a competitive recruiting process. One mother mentioned comfortable working conditions for the qualified teachers, which included a low teacher-child ratio, arranging enough teachers such as health teacher, assistant teacher or teacher in charge of general affairs. In addition, another mother mentioned financial transparency as one of the evidences of high quality, because she felt the nursery did not require extra fees in contrast with the previous private nursery.

Also, the three mothers spoke of how availability of night care (until 21.00 or 22.00) was beneficial. One of them having occasional overtime mentioned it was an advantage, because she could be free from a number of daily worries such as arranging back-up care in a hurry or rearranging the schedules with her husband. In conclusion, the workplace nursery seems to meet the crucial needs of working mothers in terms of quality care and sufficient operating hours, though the establishment was generally limited in the high status organizations.

Benefits of Childcare for School Aged Children

Childcare for school children will include both of formal and informal care providers which mainly offered sessional programs for educational services after school.

Formal institutions: Out- of School Care (OSH) within / outside primary school

Of the Out- of School Care programs (henceforth, OSH), education-oriented programs at school were mainly used by children. Education-oriented program, in here, indicates a program with an organized curriculum for a special subject, instructed by a qualified teacher. As discussed earlier, the OSH programs can be divided into care at primary school and care outside primary school. Regarding the benefits of OSH at school, three mothers stressed safety as the main merits because of the location within school site. Thus, there was no need for any further journey from school. Another three mothers complemented the improved quality of afterschool education classes over the past few years. The schools have actively accepted feedback from parents and students, contributing to increasing activities and highly qualified teachers despite relatively lower fees than private institutions. For example, apart from major subjects such as Math or English, children of respondents learned about the subjects (named); robot assembling, life science, and creative art. They have recently introduced those programs by reflecting the popularity among

children. Four mothers mentioned the advantages of the classes in inspiring children's interest, creativity, or stress reduction.

Concerning care class at school, only one child used the morning class, which was convenient for the father looking after the child before going to work by 8.00. Regarding the program outside school, one child went to a gym class at the youth centre for primary school students. The mother explained that going to the class is only opportunity to play with friends living in the same town owing to the children's busy schedules. The schedules contained attending informal institutions which also offered hourly-based education.

Informal institutions: Hak-Won (private learning centre)

Several Hak-Won (henceforth, HW) played various roles not only in education but also in extra support except for education. Six children attended HW to learn interest-oriented activities. Of these, one school child attended three HW which commonly offered childcare as well as education. For example, the institution for learning piano played the role of an afterschool care class helping with the child's homework and giving space to stay longer hours before moving to another HW. The next institution for learning Chinese with calligraphy could provide night care until 21.00 in an emergency situation. However, most HW tended to concentrate on helping children get better marks. The mothers of children (aged 9-12) who already experienced both OSH and HW made a comparison between two institutions. They commonly recounted, HW was practically much more useful for academic achievements through intensive management with well-organized curriculums. A class of HW tended to operate for a few students, and they actively interacted with mothers in order to deliver useful information for study progress. One mother emphasized her position as a customer paying expensive fees. HW thus seemed to show noticeable advantages by enhancing academic performances.

Apart from the academic results, two mothers indicated that HW enabled children to have good learning attitudes such as interest in studying or planning ahead. Another mother realized that most mothers (including her) seemed to shift the focus of arranging hobby to academic learning as a child entered higher school years, though she was careful to avoid stressing the children on the burden of study. Similarly, one mother attached importance to the child's own interests in studying and self-directed learning. The mother wanted to maintain balance so the children will not get tired of studying. By taking the long-term view, mothers seemed to get professional support from HW not only with better marks but also with the process of studies which will be continued at least for the next ten years.

Benefits of Informal In-Home Care

When asked about the benefits of in-home care, mothers generally stressed the advantages of in-home care in comparison to formal childcare at institutions. They described three types of in-home childcare; grandmother, private baby sitter, and i-dolbom service and most comments concentrated on the benefits of grandmother care.

Grandmother care

Mothers seemed to recognize the advantages of in-home care associated with quality care. Especially, many mothers mentioned the word 'sincere' or 'only one instead of me (mother)', when they described the grandmothers' affection for their children. They believed the true love of caregivers could be a guarantee for high quality care. Although other two mothers who employed private babysitters trusted their sitters, mothers generally seemed to regard grandmothers as the most reliable caregiver besides themselves. They thought reliable care could mitigate a mothers' concern about possible problems caused by non-parental care such as child abuse or exposure to disease. Mothers strongly felt responsible for reducing possibilities which could negatively impact children. In that sense, five Infants were exclusively cared for by grandmothers at home or at grandmother's homes. They needed someone who could conduct quality mothering instead of themselves (full-time workers). In addition, children did not need to travel as part of their day, which means no concern about safety issues caused by a daily journey.

The benefits of grandmother care were also evident in comparison with a private baby sitter. Two mothers described news reports covering accidents caused by baby sitters which made them form negative attitudes of unknown baby sitters. Another mother explained that having her baby cared for by any unknown person might frighten her by itself because of negative experiences of her friends. Accordingly, mothers getting help with childcare from grandmothers repeatedly expressed gratitude for the support. One mother who was supported by two grandmothers mentioned she was an extremely lucky and was always thankful for both of them. Therefore, mothers tended to place value on the safe and comfortable childcare by their grandmothers, which let mothers concentrate on their paid works.

Combining in-home care with formal care or grandmother care

Five mothers who combined formal childcare with grandmother care also emphasized the crucial roles of grandmothers likewise above cases of exclusive care by grandmothers. While the cases of arranging only grandmother care seemed to emphasise the safe care for infants, those five mothers tended to address good nutrition and health care as the main benefits of grandmother care, which might be somewhat limited in the formal institutions. Another mother described how she was fortunate enough to hire a reliable residential babysitter like a grandmother. She was also satisfied with the nutrition and health care as important merits from the resident sitter. In

spite of the expensive cost, she was sure it was the best alternative to a grandmother, because the child could at least be absent from the nursery school on a sick day. As she mentioned, this comment reflects the reality of many working mothers who must put a sick child at a facility because of no available carer at home.

On the contrary, a part-time worker arranged i-dolbom service after nursery school for two hours a week. The child was fortunate to be assigned a former nursery teacher giving professional art education. However, the available hours using the services were limited due to high demands especially for the teacher, since the users could pay an inexpensive fee from 70 pence (based on the respondent's experience in 2014) to 3.5 pounds per hour with government grants according to income level. Meanwhile, another mother did not think she had a good relationship with her mother-in-law caring her children. Rather, she thought there was no conflict between them, since she had to bear with the complaints from her mother-in-law for the present. Nevertheless, she felt confident that staying with the grandmother would be best choice for the emotional stability of the children. Similarly, four mothers having more than one in-home carer were satisfied with the arrangements, because the children could be advantaged by a number of caregivers who loved them. When it comes to benefits of in-home care, mothers prioritised the well-being of children, even though there may be inconveniences such as an awkward relationship with the carer, lack of supply or an expensive fee.

Conclusion

Chapter Six examined what types of childcare do working mothers arrange on a regular basis. In particular, this chapter focused on the processes of arranging childcare and then explored the benefits of different types of childcare.

The most common type of arrangement was combining formal and informal childcare, which was evident in the case of full-time working mothers. However, high dependence on informal childcare shows the need to explore limitations in formal childcare especially for full-time workers. Although this categorisation (formal care, informal care or both) showed general patterns or commonalities across respondents, most cases had further patterns within each type of childcare and each age group of children. Based on these results, the following chapters will investigate how those arrangements could be associated with other crucial factors such as including multiple children, mothers' working hours or mother's working environment.

In order to select an appropriate childcare, mothers designed their own ideas or strategies on the basis of objective or subjective standards, and most decided to register the childcare after carefully judging quality. This process was generally related to arranging formal childcare involving unknown caregivers. The care for preschool children was generally expected to involve

considerable mothering on behalf of mothers, which required much longer hours than care for school children. After using the childcare in practice, some mothers discovered their initial information from various routes was not realistic, or some mothers realized the limitations of judging quality, because it would be impossible to acknowledge the quality of caregivers beforehand. These unexpected results seemed to be challenging situations encountered by many working mothers.

The last section revealed that mothers were generally happy with different benefits according to the specific type of childcare, and most benefits were concerned with well-being of children without mentioning their own lives. This was because benefits for mothers would accompany more complex issues. Arranging quality childcare was the starting point for successful management of childcare and paid work. This responsibility was commonly discovered in all cases of paid work, for instance, continuing current jobs, returning to jobs after leave, or re-employment after a career-break. After the arrangements, the main concern of them was how the arranged childcare could be stably continued with working commitments, which will be explored in the next chapter.

Chapter Seven Coordinating Childcare with Paid Work

Introduction

Chapter seven aims to investigate how working mothers coordinated childcare with working commitments. Here, coordinating childcare indicates managing daily practices on typical working days, involving temporal and spatial arrangements for parents' paid works.

Section 7.1 will examine how mothers mapped out regular and back-up childcare to fit with working hours. Chapter seven will break down classifications in chapter six by conceptualizing working hours and types of childcare in detail. In the process of conceptualizing work and childcare, 'mother's working time' was the most determinant factor in the organization of childcare arrangements, particularly impacting on covering variable working hours outside typical times. The case studies in section 7.1 will illustrate how the concepts of working hours and childcare have been practically applied into arranging childcare. Section 7.2 and 7.3 will identify how the arranged childcare involved daily journeys managed by family members and/or non-family members. These two sections will focus on the cases of how five families dropped off and picked up children among home, childcare, and the workplace.

The three sections commonly tend to identify the family's involvement in coordinating childcare, which would be useful for discovering hidden aspects that may require public support and factors impacting the complexity of daily journeys made by families.

7.1 Coordinating Childcare to fit with working hours

In broad terms, how to fit childcare with working hours was the important decision across all respondents. The findings suggested that managing long working hours and / or overtime were crucial issues for the majority of respondents. While formal and informal childcare in chapter six described mothers' choices showing available childcare provisions in Korea, this section will present how the selected childcare has covered various working hours of mothers. To set the context, the characteristics of the mothers will be provided to show their living arrangements split by their part- or full-time status.

Living arrangements and Family characteristics

Table 7.1 describes family characteristics of the twenty-three respondents. In terms of fifteen full-time working mothers, there were nine nuclear families and six extended families – but in two cases, the grandparents lived in the family home just on weekdays. Four of fifteen families showed alternate residence arrangements including a family member living elsewhere. Three mothers were commuting couples who lived separately from their husbands on weekdays due to husband's distant workplace from the family's houses. One family had a child who lived with the grandmothers during mother's working days. The number of children in the families showed similar ratio between one child families (7 mothers) and two-children families (8 mothers). The

great number of youngest child or single child was preschool aged children. In the light of total children, the 15 mothers had 23 children, and six of them were infants aged less three years old. Ten of them were preschool aged children from three to six years old, and seven of them were primary school aged children from six to twelve years old.

Regarding part-time working mothers, one family was the commuting family meeting on the weekends only, while remaining mothers had typical living arrangements. One mother unusually reared three children, and others had single child (four mothers) or two children (three mothers). The youngest child in the families were mostly preschool children (6 out of 8) and the number of infants (2) were much less than full-time worker families (6). The age range of children presented similar scope with full-time worker families when it comes to including more pre-school children than school children.

Table 7. 1 Living arrangements and family characteristics (23 respondents)

	Full-time workers (15 respondents)	Part-time workers (8 respondents)
Family Type (23 families)		
▪ Nuclear Family - parents and children	8	8
▪ Extended Family - living with grandparents	3	-
▪ Extended Family - living with grandmothers weekdays	4	-
Alternate residence arrangements (5 of the 23 families)		
▪ Father lives elsewhere weekdays – ‘commuting couple’	3	1
▪ Child Lives elsewhere weekdays	1	-
Number of children		
▪ 1 child	7	4
▪ 2 children	8	3
▪ 3 children	-	1
Age of the youngest children in the family		
▪ Under 3 years old (preschool aged)	8	2
▪ 3 to 6 years old (preschool aged)	5	4
▪ 6 to 12 years old (primary school aged)	2	2
Age range of total children		
▪ Under 3 years old (preschool aged)	6	2
▪ 3 to 6 years old (preschool aged)	10	7
▪ 6 to 12 years old (primary school aged)	7	4

Conceptualizing working hours

Typical working days (Monday to Friday)

Almost every respondent (22 out of 23) normally worked on weekdays from Monday to Friday according to the five-day working policy which has been introduced from 2004 onwards. Although the Labour Standard Act (2014) has not stated the term 'five-day working system' for the reform of the working week, the reduction of statutory working hours per week from 44 hours to 40 hours meant that Saturday would be designated as a non-working day (Rudolf, 2014). Recently, 60 per cent of employed workers worked five days per week (Korea Occupational Safety and Health Agency 2014).

Among the respondents, three part-time workers and two full-time workers irregularly went to work on the weekends, if there were sometimes increased volume of work. Three other full-time workers regularly worked on Saturday at least once per month according to a weekend duty rota (with other co-workers). One pregnant mother was exempt from the duty during pregnancy under the maternity protection policy. One full-time worker unusually did not have fixed working day due to her working schedules alternating among three shifts in the morning, afternoon or night shift irrespective of days of a week. Thus, this case seems to show atypical working hours as well as atypical working day, whereas remaining respondents typically worked daytime during the week.

Typical working hours (9.00-18.00 hours)

As noted in chapter six, the term 'part-time work' indicates working less than 36 hours per week (8 mothers), and 'full-time work' means working more than 36 hours per week (15 mothers). According to the Labour Standard Act (2014) regulating 8 hours of work a day and 1-hour break (based on full-time work), the dominant pattern of standard working schedules in Korea has been 9.00 to 18.00 hours despite increased flexibility of the hours (Han and Koo, 2013). Accordingly, fifteen respondents (full-time: 8 out of 15, part-time: 7 out of 8) worked during the typical working hours (9.00-18.00). The remaining six full-time workers had working time that slightly deviated from the traditional hours. For instance, three mothers advanced working time covering 7.30-17.00, 8.00-17.00, and 8.30-17.30. Two mothers delayed working time at 9.20-18.20 and 10.00-19.00 in order to avoid traffic jam. One mother had both an early starting time to avoid much traffic in the morning and late quitting time due to the workplace culture showing long working hours from 8.30 to 19.30.

On the other hand, part-time jobs seemed to be available for more varied ranges of working times within the typical hours than full-time jobs. For instance, five mothers worked from morning to early afternoon (9.00-10.00 to 14.00-15.00) and one mother worked during the afternoon (12.00-18.00). One mother worked almost full-time (9.00-17.00) on three days a week. In this regard, full-time jobs are more likely to involve working outside typical working times due to longer

working hours than part-time jobs. Meanwhile, two mothers worked at atypical working hours which mean working outside standard working time (e.g. 9.00-17.00 on Monday to Friday in UK) (Statham and Mooney, 2003), which was generally expected to spend time for a rest rather than paid work (Bihan and Martin, 2004). In this study, one full-time worker (mentioned above) had unusual working patterns including very early shift or overnight shift. Another part time worker was employed for the morning shift starting from 5.30 (until 15.30) on two days a week. Except for these two mothers, most respondents mainly had typical working hours on weekdays or nearly typical working hours within a range of maximum one and half hours (e.g. 7.30 to 17.00).

Long working hours

Under the Labour Standards Act (2014) in Korea regulating 40 working hours per week, full-time employees might be expected to stay at workplaces 45 hours per week including lunch time. In the cases of full-time work among the respondents ranged from 40 to 55 hours per week (including lunch times) and part-time jobs covered 15 to 30 hours per week. Despite the Act limiting working hours, three full-time workers already exceeded more than 45 hours per week (excluding overtime). These results are in line with the extremely long working hours in Korea. As discussed in chapter two, Korean female employees had much longer workweek (41.9 hours) (Lee, GY et al., 2015) than female employees of OECD countries (average: 33.4 hours) (OECD, 2016h). Given that these data are average, it is likely that overtime outside typical working time (in particular after 18.00) could be prevalent reason for long working hours in Korea.

Overtime

From the viewpoint of mothers, 'how far actual working hours corresponded with the contracted working hours' was an important problem with fitting childcare in accordance with paid work. Although The Labour Standards Act (2014) allows extra 12 hours of overtime per week as long as the employees agree, the overtime generally tends to appear in traditional workplace culture regardless of the decisions made by employees (Park, JS et al., 2014; Yoon and Im 2014). More than half of respondents (14 cases) recounted frequent or occasional overtime which was especially evident those with full-time jobs (11 out of 14). In some instances, they were required to do overtime at short notice or at the last moment. Thus, they could not be sure whether their daily works would finish on time or not. On the contrary, nine mothers could fully anticipate what time their works would finish because of involving no overtime. More specifically, the overtime hours included either pre-arranged / self-chosen overtime (e.g. meeting the own deadline) or unplanned / unexpected overtime. The overtime could be caused by either the extension of working time on weekdays or working on a weekend (e.g. weekend duty rotas). Whatever the

reasons, mothers were responsible for arranging childcare covering regular/ irregular overtime as well as contracted working hours.

Conceptualizing Childcare types

Mothers generally seem to allocate regular and / or back-up childcare so that the carers can look after their children not only for regular working hours, but also outside of these hours.

Arranging Regular Childcare

Here, 'regular care' indicates planned and scheduled childcare on a regular basis. As described in chapter six, mothers can arrange one or more forms of childcare. Mothers tended to arrange enough childcare to cover the amount of time required to non-parental care, mostly needing beyond typical working times (9.00-18.00) due to long working hours and possibilities for overtime.

Arranging Regular Childcare: Wrap-Around Childcare

The term 'wrap-around care' has been used to indicate the services for school aged children before and after school hours from private care providers as well as primary schools in UK (Lowndes and Dennison, 2012). This study expanded the original meaning of the term in order to explore the use of regular childcare in line with variable working hours of mothers. Here, wrap-around care indicates the available childcare outside mothers' typical working hours before 9.00 and/or after 18.00 on weekdays and whole weekends in order to look at how they struggled to overcome the limited coverage of formal care for meeting the needs of care hours. Thus, wrap-around care also can cover around school times or day nursery times for pre-school children.

Although the extent of demand could be varied depending on particular circumstances, it would be vital for full-time workers, because they are more likely to need much longer childcare times (at least 9.00 to 18.00) than part-time workers. Regarding the cases of wrap-around care experienced by respondents, a childcare from 7.30 to 8.00 would be replacing maternal roles in the morning despite the short care time before a child goes on to attend school or a full-time formal childcare session. A grandmother living with children could provide this shorter time of wrap-around care on a regular basis in the mornings, but also could be available as back-up care for the mother's unexpected overtime.

The concept of wrap-around care will be applied only if it is practically used by children in line with working hours of their mothers. Thus, even though a day nursery opens from 7.30 to 19.30, it will not be classified into a case of wrap-around care if the part-time worker collects the children at 15.00 after work not involving overtime. Hence, the analysis describes wrap-around

care from mothers' perspectives in terms of how they actually need and use it – rather than in terms of whether the childcare provider offers care outside the typical working day. Therefore, attending some facilities in the evenings like Hak-Won could have multiple purposes, providing not only education for the child, but also wrap-around care if the child attends in the mother's working hours.

Arranging Back-up Care

The regular childcare would necessarily be replaced with back-up childcare if there was an emergency situation. The term 'back-up childcare' was adopted from previous studies investigating daily childcare, which generally indicated care for emergencies such as regular carer's sickness (Skinner, 2003; Uttal, 1999). In this study, 'back-up care' will be defined as unscheduled and irregular childcare for exceptional circumstances. Back-up care generally covered unexpected events such as child's sickness or last-minute demands for overtime at mother's work. Most mothers had someone in mind who would support the back-up care (see chapter 8).

Case study: Arranging regular childcare to cover variable working hours

The figure 7.1 displayed how mothers arranged regular childcare to cover working hours on typical working days. Each case has two rows showing the allocation of childcare according to working and commuting times. The cases were divided into simple case or complex case given the possibilities for unexpected overtime.

Case study one (simple case, part-time): Unskilled part-time job involving no overtime

This family had twins aged three years old attending a same day nursery (the first row, figure 7.1). The nursery was actually operated all-day from 7.30 to 19.30 under the Childcare Act (2015), even though considerable day nurseries tend to open less hours than the rule. The mother cited two reasons. First, the day nursery was the public³⁹ nursery which received more governmental supervisions than private nurseries. Second, since the town was the industrial complex, most nurseries operated until late in order to care the children of many working mothers engaged in factory work or office work in that town. However, she worked from 10.00 to 14.00 without overtime and the commuting time was taken about forty minutes a day. Therefore, the day nursery fully covered the mother's working / commuting hours at typical hours. This case suggests that short working time of a mother and enough operating hours of formal childcare would naturally decrease the necessity for arranging multiple forms of regular care or wrap-around care.

Case study two (complex case, part-time): Skilled part-time job involving occasional overtime

³⁹ The proportion of public day nursery is 6 per cent of all the nurseries. (Ministry of Health and Welfare, 2016)

This family had one preschool child aged five years old attending a nursery school (the second row, figure 7.1). In the beginning, the mother anticipated the nursery school would offer enough care time to cover her work (12.00 to 18.00), because the children of dual-income parents shall be allowed to stay at the nursery school until 18.00 under the Early Childhood Education Act (2015).

The mother recounted unexpected situations. The majority of mothers in the nursery school were non-working and picked-up the children no later than 16.00. The son thus had to stay alone after 16.00 hours. This experience presents quite different situations from the case one showing the day nursery mainly consisting of working mothers. Thus, there appeared around two hours of gap times between mother's working time and child's nursery school time, as it was no longer possible to leave the child without friends. Finally, the child ended up leaving the nursery school at 16.00 to go to HW (Taekwondo) by taking a shuttle bus, and he usually stayed at HW until 18.00.

Crucially, the HW provided wrap-around care until 21.00, which was useful if the mother was suddenly required overtime. In short, the mother arranged two types of regular care in institutional settings which offered half-day care (nursery school) and sessional education covering wrap-around care (HW). This case demonstrates that one care provider (HW) could play multiple roles including regular carer at normal times and wrap-around carer once in a while. Thus, the child would not need to stay until late evening at the HW as long as mother's work would finish on time.

Case study three (simple case, full-time): Skilled full-time job based on three-shift work involving no overtime

This family had eighteen month-old one infant living separately from the parents (the third row, figure 7.1). This unusual living arrangement was concerned with the mother's working patterns based on three shifts. The figure 7.1 illustrates that the whole times of mother's job may cover more than half of atypical hours. The three shifts included day-shift (6.00 to 16.00), evening-shift (15.00 to 23.00), and night-shift (9.30 to 16.00). For example, she was duty on daytime work on Monday to Wednesday, evening work on Thursday, off day on Friday, and night work on Saturday. Employees had flexible timetables depending on week and month. Despite the flexibility, the mother could exactly anticipate starting and finishing times of work without overtime because the next shift worker usually arrived at work on time shortly before she finished her shift. As she expressed, it was nevertheless a challenging scenario if she raised the infant in the context of working unusual hours.

The child thereby lived full-time with one of her grandmothers each month by turns. Though this case displayed the most complex working schedule among the respondents, rather, the childcare showed the simplest arrangement on a monthly basis (without daily journeys) by two wraparound

carers who equally took full charge of care at least for a whole month. Otherwise, the mother may possibly need to allocate complex care settings in order to cover the atypical hours. She collected the child when there are at least two holidays in a row. Thus, the father irregularly met the child at home on mother's holidays. This family was highly dependent on two grandparents who made serious adjustments to their family life and co-residence arrangements in order to accommodate the parents' work commitments. Culturally, in Korea this would be considered as normal practice as long as the mother is engaged in rewarding occupations, the parents offer sufficient financial reward for the sacrifice of the grandmothers (see chapter 8), and the child grows well. Accordingly, what she cared most about was the child's emotional stability by the cooperative care with the grandmothers (see chapter 8).

Case study four: (complex case, full-time): Professional full-time job involving frequent overtime

This mother had extremely busy schedules from early morning until late evening, which accompanied overtime almost every day (the forth row, figure 7.1). Apart from the overtime, the mother would always need non-parental care at least twelve hours (8.00 to 20.00) a day including commuting times. For her son aged eighteen months, she arranged two types of regular carers. First of all, this family was the extended family living with the mother-in-law who was fully responsible for the grandson care on behalf of the busy mother. In addition, a babysitter came to the house twice a week during daytime. The grandmother provided the majority of care including wrap-around care, while the role of babysitter was more likely to assist the grandmother's care at typical times. The grandmother was the primary carer from early morning to early evening until any parent came back from work. Since the father usually arrived at home earlier than the mother, he was able to look after the child about one to two hours during the week. The mother often arrived at home after the child went to bed. Thus, the grandmother and father seem to share childcare in the evening, though the grandmother took more responsibilities for the wrap-around care.

Figure. 7.1 Arranging regular childcare to fit with working hours

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Manual / unskilled job involving no overtime ▪ Family with two children aged 3 years old (twins)
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Case 1						
Part-time job Simple case	Working Hours		20	10am-2pm (Monday to Friday)		
	Child care	Mother	Day nursery till 3.30pm		Mother	Mother, Father
Case 2	<div>▪ Skilled job involving occasional overtime</div> <div>▪ Family with one child aged 5 years old</div>					
Part-time job Complex case	Working Hours		15	12pm-6pm (Monday-Friday)		+Overtime
	Child care	Mother	Nursery school till 3.30pm (formal-primary care)		HW till 6pm	HW (available till 9pm)
Case 3	<div>▪ Skilled job based on three-shifts involving no overtime</div> <div>▪ Family with one child aged 18 months</div>					
Full-time job Simple case	Working Hours	Regular shift working Day shift: 6 am to 4 pm, Evening shift : 3 pm to 11 pm, Night shift: 9: 30 pm to 4 am (mixed setting of the three shifts by the week)				
	Child care	Child lives full time with two grandmothers each month by turns				
Case 4	<div>▪ Professional job involving frequent overtime</div> <div>▪ Family with one child aged 18 months</div>					
Full-time job Complex case	Working Hours		30	8. 30am-7.30 pm (Monday to Friday or Saturday)		+Overtime
	Child care	Grandmother	Grandmother (majority of care) with Baby sitter			Grandmother (majority) or Father
Working hours: Mothers' working hours		Mothers' Working hours			Mothers' Commuting Time	
Childcare Hours		Childcare at typical times (9am-6pm)			Wrap-Around care (Outside typical times)	

Key messages from the cases arranging regular childcare

Types of Wrap-Around Care

Given working time, overtime, and commuting time, seventeen mothers (including every full-time worker and two part-time workers) arranged a total of 25 wrap-around carers⁴⁰. The wrap-around carers fell into two groups according to whether they were available for 24-hour home care or not. Table 7.2 illustrates the majority of care providers were in-home carers and some wrap-around care was provided by institutions. Five mothers had more than one wrap-around care provider which will be separately mentioned.

Table 7.2 Wrap-around care – 17 families

24 hour carers at home (13 families)	No. of families	Other carers at institutions (6 families)	No. of families
Extended families – live with grandparents	3	Home-based day nursery	1
Grandmothers live with family weekdays	4	Morning Class at primary school	1
- Child live with two grandmothers by turns	1	Workplace day nursery	3
Grandmothers come to the parents' house everyday	4	HW	2
Residential baby sitters	2	-	-

Note: Among the 17 families, five families arranged more than one wrap-around care either within 24 hour carers (e.g. grandmother with residential babysitter), within institutions or across 24 hour carer / institutions (e.g. grandmother with workplace nursery).

Thirteen families had 24-hour available carers regardless of whether the carers actually took care of the children such a long time. In this respect, it is worth noting here the living arrangements of the families, which was deeply associated with the grandmother care. As shown in table 7.2, three families were three-generation families living together with grandparents all the time. Similarly, four grandmothers stayed at the family's home in order to help with childcare during the week, and one child stayed at grandparents' houses (case study three). Four grandmothers living nearby families commuted between their own home and child's home. In terms of non-family members, two mothers arranged residential babysitters⁴¹ and one of them alternately offered childcare on different days from the grandmother. Briefly, the 24-hour available carers (mostly grandmothers) were always ready to cover atypical hours at the same home or nearby the home.

⁴⁰ Some school children had flexible schedules attending different HW according to a day of week. In here, the different HW will be grouped into one provider considering similar care hours each other.

⁴¹ Here, residential babysitter indicates the babysitter stayed overnight and lived with the family in their house for at least 24 hours a week.

Meanwhile, the table 7.2 displays six mothers could use wrap-around care provided by seven institutions, though the available care hours were much shorter than the 24-hour carers. In the early morning before 9.00, one home-based nursery, and a morning class at school provided morning care from 7.30am. In the late evening after 18.00, three workplace day nurseries provided night care until 21.00 or 22.00. Two informal institutions (HW) also extended care hours until 21.00. Except for the morning class at school, most institutions also covered typical hours. In general, informal carers seem to play major role in providing wrap-around care, which reflects lack of formal childcare for meeting requirements at atypical times.

Arranging wrap-around care appeared either single form or multiple forms according to whether the 24-hour care was simultaneously shared with another care at typical times. Among 13 mothers who had 24 hour carers, three presented complete reliance on grandmothers without arranging other carers. They thus used single forms of wrap-around care, whereas remaining 10 mothers also used other carers within a day or a week. This included baby sitters, day nurseries or HW.

Arranging wrap-around care for a range of reasons

In most cases, the use of wrap-around care was closely related to the working hours of mothers. Eleven mothers seemed to make preparations on the assumption that they cannot know beforehand when overtime is likely to happen and finish. However, three full-time working mothers arranged wrap-around care despite predictable working hours without overtime. Among these, one family was a three-generation family and the grandmother was especially important carer in the morning, because the mother left home at 7.20 due to long commuting time taking one and half hours to get to work. In the evening, HW provided wrap-around care until 21.00 and the child was usually collected at 19.30 by her mother who regularly finished work (at 18.00) without overtime. Similarly, another mother arranged two wrap-around care by two grandmothers. Concerning the reasons stated by the mother, both grandmothers lived nearby the family's home and the maternal grandmother willingly helped with house work as well as childcare for her pregnant daughter. Another case in terms of three shifts job was described in case study three. These three cases show how wrap-around care could be arranged for a range of reasons not only for overtime but also for family living patterns, commuting hours, unusual working patterns or pregnancy.

Meanwhile, three mothers who were sometimes demanded overtime arranged regular childcare available in the evening not for covering overtime but for private education. Of these, two full-time working mothers explained that their children usually came back home later than the mothers. Overtime had never been problematic, because it (taken less than two hours) always

finished before the children returned home. By the same token, one part-time worker working until 15.00 could use children's institutions until 19.30 for her predictable overtime hours finished before 18.00. Therefore, some childcare could naturally cover overtime as long as the length of usual overtime hours was predictable.

Also, wrap-around carers tended to contribute to fill the necessary hours caused not only by mother's work but also by father's work. Four fathers in the commuting families were not able to participate at all in childcare during the week and most of the other fathers (16 out of 19) usually had longer working hours than the mothers. Only two mothers mentioned fathers as regular carers during mothers' working times. In these cases, one father had the flexible working environment (case study six) and worked evenings, enabling him to care for the child in the morning (case study eight). In fact, many children (13 out of 23 cases) could not see the fathers during morning and/or evening routines on weekdays and their mothers rarely mentioned the father's involvement in wrap-around care. Conceivably, it seems that most full-time working mothers having busy husbands could not have a choice but to rely on wrap-around carers.

Regarding the main benefits of wrap-around care, it is notable that the respondents were highly dependent on informal childcare. Grandmothers were the most likely to be supportive care in line with varied working situations. They covered not only regular working hours but also unexpected overtime hours and long commuting times. They also provided care outside school and nursery times. Even though some institutions also covered outside the typical times, mothers who could select either in-home care or institutional care preferred in-home care especially for preschool children in the late times. Therefore, the great advantage of informal childcare would be flexible and comfortable care, which tends to be comparatively constrained by formal services in the light of practicality and availability.

Dealing with emergencies by back-up care

Mothers were able to coordinate daily routines with regular carers unless there was an emergency situation. For emergencies, mothers prearranged one or more than one back-up carer who were mostly different from the regular carers. The back-up carers included either family members or acquaintances. The majority of family back-up carers were maternal grandmothers (six mothers) and aunts (mothers' sisters-three mothers). In addition, paternal grandmother, maternal grandfather, paternal grandfather, and uncle also offered back-up care. Besides, mothers arranged neighbours (four mothers) or acquainted babysitter who used to care for the child. Three mothers had both of family back-up carers and non-family back-up carers.

They mentioned families as main back-up carers and seemed to regard non-family carers as the best alternative plan if the families were not available. Therefore, family members (especially,

grandmothers) are still the most important caregivers for back-up care as well as regular care. While the majority of mothers separately arranged back-up care, eight mothers had no extra back-up carers. In two cases, the two grandmothers became back-up caregivers for each other whenever another grandmother had emergency.

In the remaining cases, a range of factors were tied to no back-up care such as having school age children and / or part-time jobs. Five out of six mothers were part-time employees, and four out of six mothers had school children who were less likely to cause emergencies compared to infants (see chapter eight). Regardless of whether mothers prearranged back-up care or not, they sometimes had to take a leave for caring the children by their own, which will be illustrated in chapter eight.

So far, section 7.1 mapped out the different types of care arrangements to cover mothers' working hours. Of the arrangements, wrap-around care was noticeably discovered, which was mainly provided by grandmothers. For the wrap-around care due to mother's atypical working hours, one child lived with both grandparents (one case) and no parents were involved in childcare during weekdays. Fathers were rarely involved as wrap-around caregivers, either because they lived elsewhere during the week (four commuting couples) or more commonly because their working hours were even longer than the mothers. The next section will cover family life of the care arrangements by using illustrative case studies. The case studies will highlight the daily routines involved for families in arranging childcare around parents' working commitments. It is split in two, looking at full-time working mothers first (section 7.2) with three case studies, followed by part-time working mothers (section 7.3) with two case studies.

7.2 Daily Journeys of Full-time Working Mothers: Transporting children to and from childcare

Section 7.1 demonstrated wrap-around care was mainly combined with other typical hours' childcare. Thus, it would be necessary to explore how the families managed the combined childcare in daily routines. Section 7.2 and 7.3 will narrow the scope of everyday experiences with a particular focus on the respondents' typical working days.

The conceptual basis: Daily Journeys and Coordination points

To investigate the daily life on the most typical day, this thesis adopts Skinners' framework (2003) of coordinating childcare with work commitments as a better way of understanding working mothers' daily lives. Two main concepts identified by Skinner (2003); daily journeys, coordination will be applied to explore the cases in Korea. Since the conceptual basis was described in detail in chapter four, this chapter will briefly explain the basic concept of daily journeys and coordination points.

Daily Journeys

Daily journey indicates how a family makes journeys in a day for coordinating between paid work and childcare (Skinner, 2003). Families experienced daily journeys to /from the home, to/from childcare/education and / or the workplaces of parents. Each family member can have own journeys from morning to evening. For instance, all the respondents, currently employed, had at least two daily journeys between home and workplace.

Coordination points

Coordination points demonstrate how carers drop off and pick up their children from/to home or institutions at certain times of a day (Skinner, 2003). While daily journeys generally describe daily schedules of every family member, coordination points focus on showing children's daily lives, particularly how they were transported from one place to another place in a day. Children having no coordination points naturally had no daily journeys, because coordination points are formed as long as a child experiences at least one daily journey. Three out of fifteen full-time workers had children having no coordination points. Thus, twelve families will be explored in section 7.2 except for the three cases. The point will be on the basis of the starting time of transport when the journey practically occurred. In this study, daily coordination points fell into three time dimensions; morning coordination point (7.00 to 12.00), afternoon coordination point (12.00 to 17.00), and evening coordination point (17.00 to 22.00).

Mother's involvement in daily journeys

Of the respondents, two groups were identified; mothers not transporting children and mothers transporting children. The former type of mothers were not actually involved in picking up or dropping off their children at all, while latter type of mothers were actually involved in transporting their children. The mothers' involvement was most likely to be influenced by factors associated with working hours.

Mothers not transporting children in a day

Nine out of fifteen full-time working mothers were not involved in transporting their children. Interestingly, all the fathers in these cases (9 out of 15) did not transport children either. Instead of the parents, non-parental carers took charge of transporting the children. That is, the mothers delegated the roles of transporting children to non-parental carers particularly if they had long working hours or worked at atypical times. On a normal workday, six out of nine mothers always had working hours outside typical working times (9.00 to 18.00), seven out of nine mothers experienced occasional overtime, and two mothers had overtime almost daily. Long commute distance of mothers was also noticeable factor as six out of nine mothers spent at least one hour a day on travelling. In sum, long working hours and long commuting hours may make the mothers need the carers who are able to go with children's daily journeys.

Mothers transporting children in a day

On the other hand, six mothers directly transported their children at least one time in a day. Compared to the cases above, the working hours of these cases appeared more typical and predictable, and the times for working and commuting generally took less hours. In the morning, four out of the six mothers left the homes with their children in order to drop off them in the care places on their way to work. The remaining two had school aged children who travelled to school by themselves in the morning. In the evening, all six mothers collected the children from childcare on their way to home. That is, their commute patterns corresponded with children's schedules. It seems that the close proximity between care place and home / workplace seems to increase the probability of mother's involvement. For instance, two out of six mothers allocated workplace day nurseries contiguous to their offices. Three out of six mothers arranged childcare within walkable distances from home. Meanwhile, another mother arranged a nursery operated by the husband's workplace, 30 minutes from hers. Nonetheless, accompanying her child was compatible with her own work trips by driving her car during the work commute. In general, these temporal and spatial circumstances involving short hours and routes may possibly enable the mothers to transport the children by themselves.

Managing daily journeys: Picking up and dropping off children

Concerning various journeys made by each family, some families obviously presented simple forms of daily journeys involving no or a few coordination points. In contrast, others had quite complex daily journeys, which brought about multiple coordination points. In this regard, several factors were considered in order to choose the cases according to the complexity of daily journeys. This included; the number of daily journeys, the distance, and the time of day they took place. Three case studies were chosen on this basis. Case study 5 illustrates a simple arrangement. Case

study 6 presents a complex arrangement and case study 7 is an example in which children travelled independently by walking and/or by getting the shuttle bus.

Case Study: Simple managements of daily journeys

Case study five: the family with two preschool children attending the same day nursery

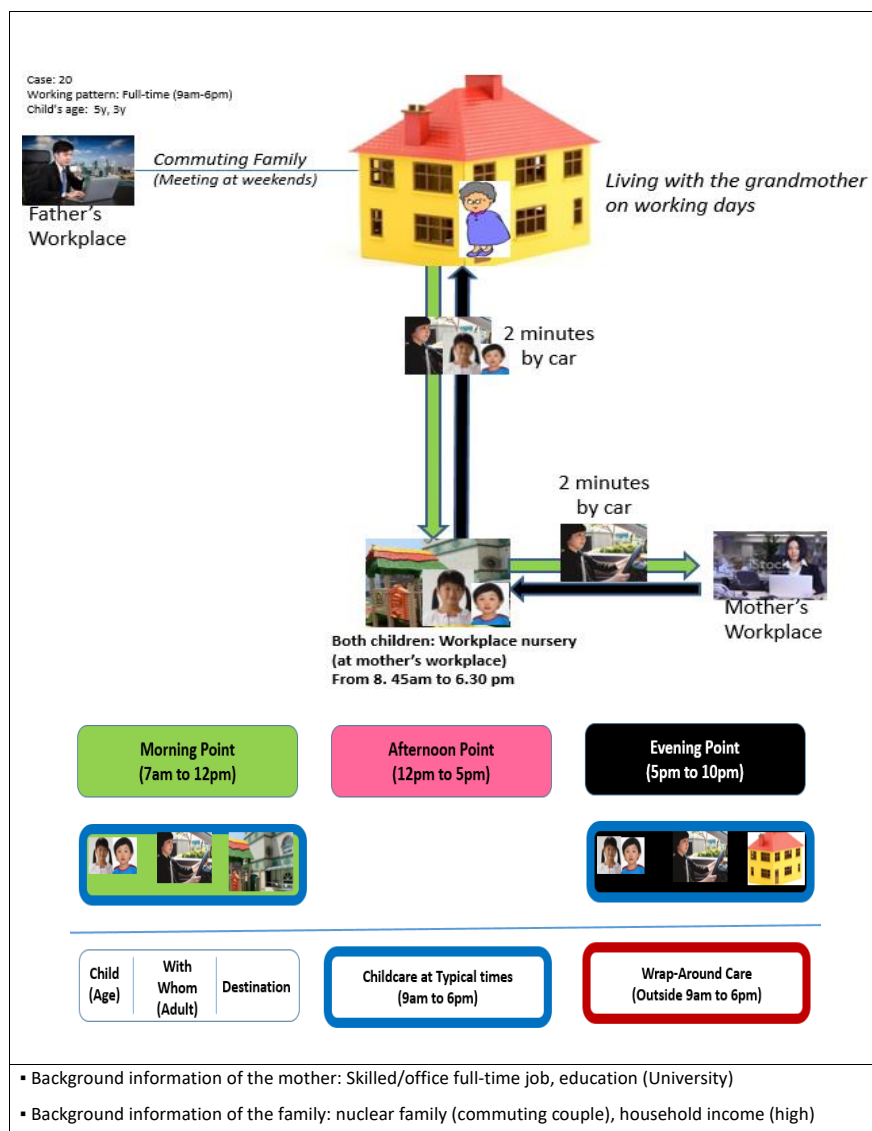
This family is a commuting family. The father lived away from the home on weekdays and the grandmother lived with the family during weekdays. The parents had two preschool aged children (5y, 3y) who used a same workplace day nursery run by the mother's workplace.

In the morning, the two children were driven to the nursery by the mother's own car. The drive took 2 minutes from the home to the nursery. After dropping off the children (8.45), she arrived at the office at 8.50. In the evening, the mother left the office at 18.20 and then she collected the children from the nursery. They arrived at home at least before 18.40.

The mother had four daily journeys, and both children had two daily journeys. As seen in the figure 7.2, the coordination points happened two times (each point at 8.45 and at 18.30) at the nursery. Though both regular carers (workplace day nursery and grandmother) were available for wrap-around care, the nursery provided the majority of care relating to amount of time that children actually stayed all day. The grandmother provided no childcare while the mother was at work during her typical and predictable working hours. Conceivably, she could have managed all the children's schedules without help from the grandmother, but only if her working hours remained predictable. However, grandmother was the important wrap-around caregiver especially if overtime was suddenly allocated. In that situation, the mother dropped the children off at home and then quickly returned the office to finish overtime while the grandmother looked after her children.

Among the full-time workers, this family showed the best case in terms of close proximity among home, childcare and workplace. Particularly, both children, only two years apart, attended the same nursery, which also contributed to the simple management. Since each distance simply took about two minutes by driving her car, the mother was able to manage the four daily journeys by spending about 10 minutes in a day. In addition to the near distance, the workplace nursery presented the advantage of long operating hours in favour of managing working hours. Having said that, the context for this family cannot be ignored with the father living away during the week. According to the mother's statement, her workplace moved to a different province (outside of Seoul). It was not a personnel appointment, but the move of all buildings in her organization. They thus had no choice but to be the commuting couple, because the father still had to work in Seoul.

Figure 7.2: Case study five- the example of simple daily journeys



Case Study: Complex managements of daily journeys

Case study six: the family with two children transported by parents

This family had two children aged 8 years old and 5 years old. The oldest child was a primary school student, and his little brother attended a workplace day nursery. Unusually, this case was one of the two cases in which the father was involved with wrap-around care. He also shared responsibilities for transporting children. Each parent took one child on their way to work.

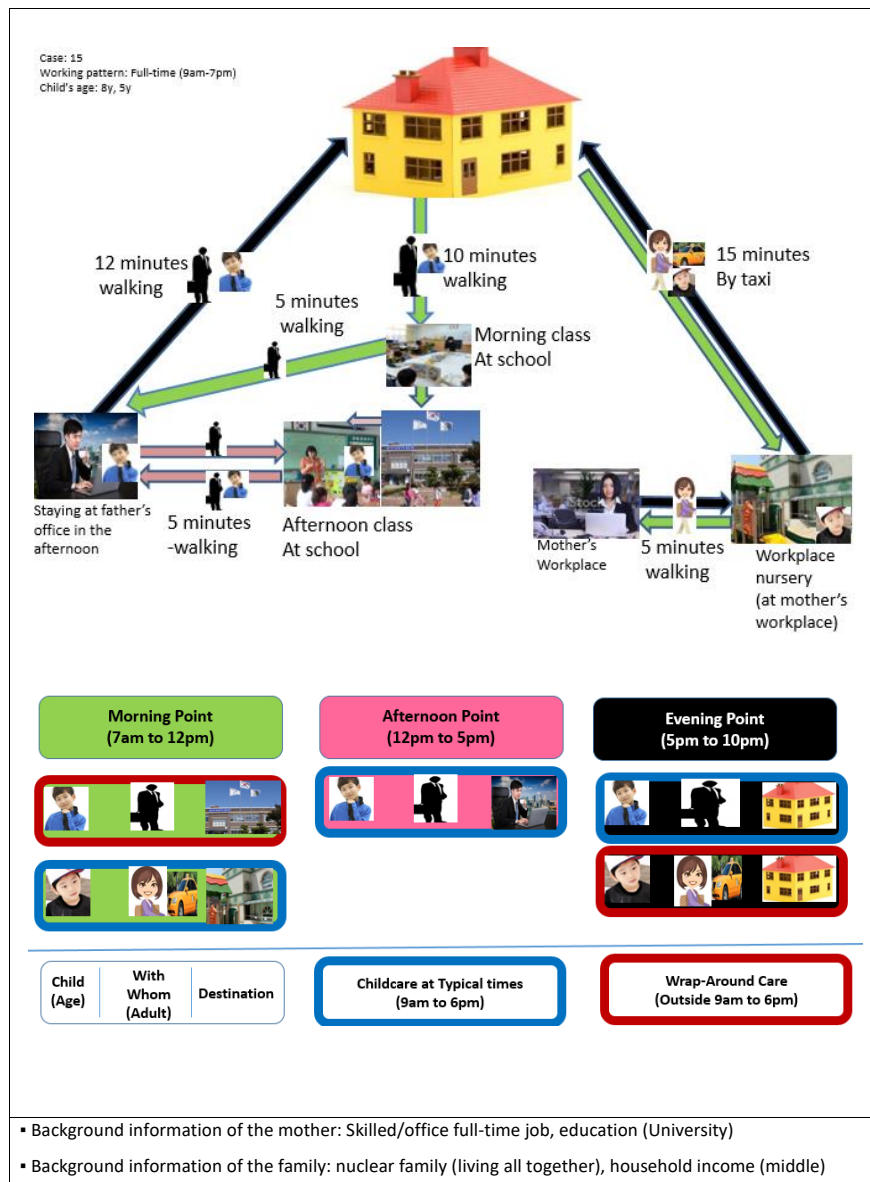
In the morning (7.30), the father and the oldest child walked to morning classes at school, for about 10 minutes. After dropping off the child (7.40), the father went straight to his office to be at work on time (8.00). Meanwhile, the mother accompanied the youngest child and left home at 8.30. They took a taxi to get to the workplace nursery operated by her company, taking about 15 minutes. After dropping off the child, the mother arrived at her office by 8.50 (5-minute walk). In the afternoon, the oldest child was collected by his father after finishing afterschool class (15.30) and they walked to his office with the child staying there until his quitting time. About 6 o'clock, they walked home in about 12 minutes. The mother usually left the office at 19.15 and she picked up the youngest child from the nursery to return home.

In terms of daily journeys, the father travelled the largest number of journeys (5 times) in the family and the mother had four journeys, while children experienced less journeys than the parents (3 and 2 each). Regarding coordination points, a total of five points occurred as shown in figure 7.3. It is noticeable that two coordination points were in the early morning and late evening in line with the working hours of the parents. Although this case was grouped into complex management, there seems to be important factors which contributed to reducing the complexity. Above all, the oldest child had morning and afterschool classes at school, which required no journey. In addition, he could stay with the father in the afternoon without travelling somewhere else. The younger child also could save time and journey by attending only the workplace nursery all day and taking a taxi with his mother. The workplace nursery opened all-day until 21.00 which fully covered the mothers' working time and irregular overtime.

The factors that contributed to this families' arrangements included; the parents being able to deal with one child each splitting the workload, the father's workplace being able to facilitate his child staying in his office⁴², and the mother having a workplace day nursery. The children, therefore, spent daytimes in different regions; one associated with the workplaces of the mother and the other based in school locally. Overall, this family needed long care hours from early morning to late evening and this showed how different forms of formal childcare could cover not only typical hours, but also outside typical hours.

⁴² Although this was an unusual case, the mother explained three reasons why it was possible. First of all, the father worked in a religious organization which showed more permissive atmosphere than typical companies. There was an own space only for them and the child who had the calm personality never caused disturbance in father's work.

Figure 7.3 Case study six- the example of complex daily journeys



Case study seven: the family with two children travelling without adult supervision

This family had two children aged 8 years old and 5 years old. Although they were the same age as those in the complex case example six, the children managed all the journeys by themselves.

In the early morning (7.40), both children walked to the home-based day nursery in the next building of their apartment for wrap-around care before starting school. The father left home slightly earlier than the children and the mother left home at 8.10 to get to her office by 8.30. After having breakfast in the nursery, the oldest child walked to school by himself at 8.15 (10-minute walk). The youngest child took a shuttle bus to get to a nursery school⁴³, a journey of about 15 minutes.

After finishing after school class (at school) around 14.30, the oldest child came back to the home-based nursery by taking the shuttle bus (two minutes) provided by his HW (Taekwondo classes). Though he went to HW in the evening, HW just offered the pick-up service for local children in the middle of a day. After the youngest child came back from the nursery school, both children stayed at the home-based nursery until 17.00 and then they rode on the same shuttle bus to get to HW (Taekwondo) together. They left the HW at 19.00 by taking the shuttle bus (5 mins) to get home where the mother waited for them after coming back from work (17.30). They had early evening meals or snacks right before going to Taekwondo and then had evening meals at home (three days a week). If there was no Taekwondo class, they stayed at the nursery longer than this case (or going to another HW during daytime like football class) and had evening meals there before returning home about 19.00.

Parents just had two journeys for work trips between home and workplaces. Both children had five journeys, though their routes were slightly different from each other. On the basis of the family unit (not individual child), this family showed the largest number of coordination points among all the cases. As illustrated from the below in figure 7.4, three coordination points occurred in the morning among home, home-based nursery, school, and another nursery school, which were made by walking (2 points) or shuttle bus (1 point). In the afternoon, two coordination points occurred across school, home-based nursery, and nursery school, which were transported by shuttle buses from two institutions (HW and nursery school). The evening points occurred across home-based nursery, HW, and home, transported by Shuttle bus (HW).

In terms of convenient factors found in this case, shuttle buses were important means, enabling children's daily journeys by their own, which was used in five out of seven coordination points. In addition, the home-based nursery provided before and after-school care as the mother

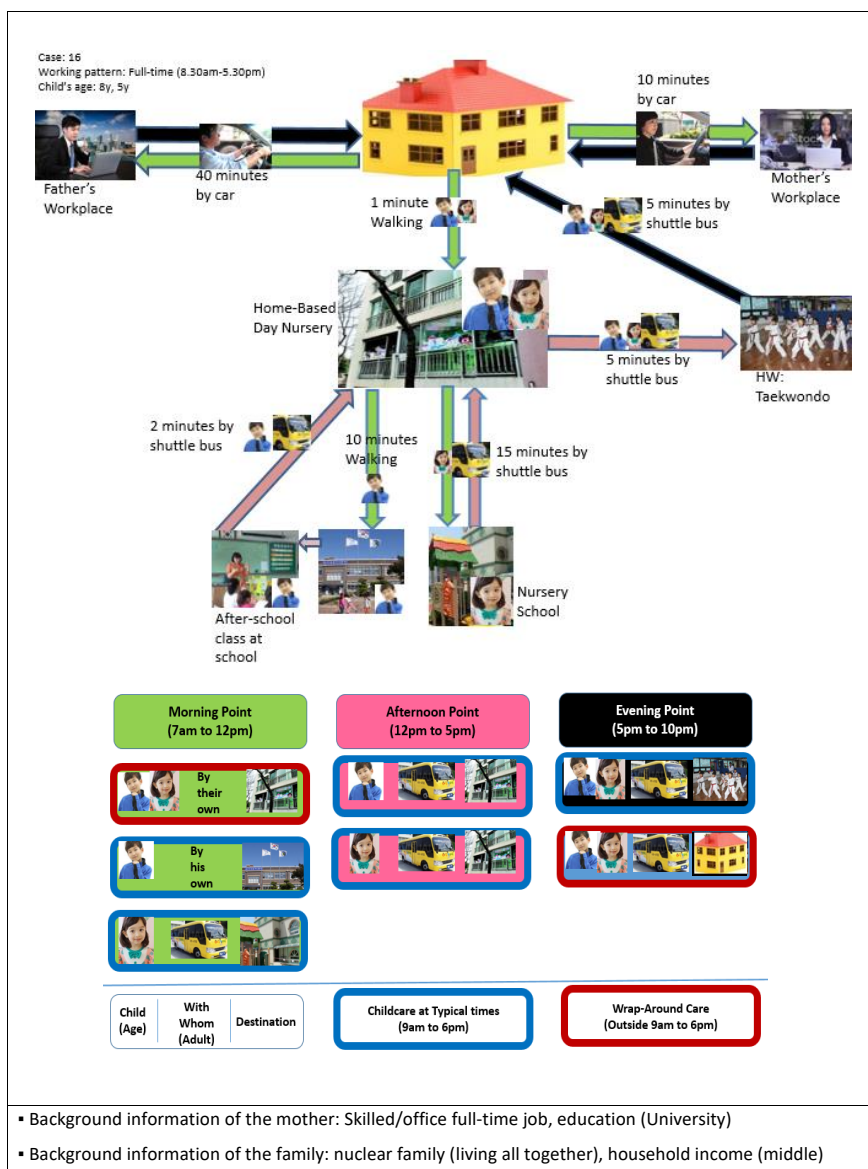
⁴³ The youngest child attended both types of typical preschool institutions, because the child could receive different types of services such as care-oriented programs at the day nursery and education-oriented programs at the nursery school.

commented it as a 'central-axis' like a family's home, partly because it was also in the building close to the family's apartment.

The focal point at the home-based nursery made the children easily travel to other care places despite the unsupervised journeys by adults (apart from those who supervised children on the shuttle buses). Moreover, sending two children to the same facilities helped this family reduce the number of journeys. Otherwise, their routines would end up involving much more complex journeys. Nevertheless, both children attended three institutions for long hours (approximately 12 hours per day), which necessarily involved complex managements. In addition, using the home-based nursery naturally increased number of journeys for coming and going among the places irrespective of the convenience as the central point. Overall, this case showed the important roles of shuttle buses and home-like day nurseries, especially for those without informal carers.

Although both grandparents did not live locally, instead, the director of the home-based nursery reared the children for 8 years (right after the birth of the oldest child). She was practically the informal carer on behalf of busy parents. The father's job involved overtime daily or almost daily (even not returning home) due to the distinct characteristic of the organization. It also seems to influence the children's independent journeys, which was the contrasting situation compared to case study six.

Figure 7.4: Case study seven- the example of children's independent daily journeys



Key Findings from the all the cases of full-time workers

Carers accompanying children and transport

Total 20 carers (including parents and institutions running shuttle buses) were involved in transporting 20 children in 12 families⁴⁴. The majority of the carers were informal carers (14 out of 20) who were mostly family members (12 out of 14). The twelve family members included six mothers, one father, three grandmothers, one grandfather, and one aunt. The remaining two informal carers were residential babysitters. In relation to means of transportation, most journeys were made by walking (8 out of 14). Four people drove family cars and two people got a taxi. None of them used public⁴⁵ transport when they transported children. When they used taxis or their own cars, they travelled to non-locally-based nurseries such as a workplace nursery run by father's company.

An important aspect of the travel arrangements was the use of shuttle buses. Of the six bus services used, ⁴⁶ two buses were operated by formal institutions and four buses were run by informal institutions. The formal institutions included nursery schools and the informal institutions were (HW) used by school children for learning Taekwondo, English, or Chinese. Besides safety rules, operating the shuttle bus was legally treated as business areas depending on the discretion of directors in formal and informal institutions. Therefore, it appears that there seems to be no public intervention for the children's daily journeys.

Children's journeys without adult supervision

Two cases (including case study seven) showed that the children managed all the daily coordination points on their own. They did not accompany any adult during journeys. For instance, one child travelled among home, school, and an informal institution, which made three coordination points at morning, afternoon, and evening each, whilst the parents were at work and the grandmother looked after the youngest child (14 months) at home. The mothers designed the routes considering near distances and traffic safety along the routes. Each journey (less than 5minutes) was within walkable distance. In addition to the distance, the case study seven

⁴⁴ As mentioned, three families who had children without daily journeys were not discussed in this section.

⁴⁵ It is still controversial issue whether taxi shall be included as a kind of public transportation like bus or train under the Act on the Support and Promotion of Utilization of Mass Transit System. For now, taxi is legally classified into one of passenger transport businesses under the Passenger Transport Service Act. Regarding everyday use of taxi, it is usually easy to catch a taxi in downtown Seoul without calling for a taxi by phone.

⁴⁶ According to Road Traffic Act, term 'school buses for children' indicate automobiles used for transporting more than 9 children under 13 years old to and from education facilities including nursery school, day nursery, primary school and HW under the related acts. A guardian eligible for teacher certificate at the establishments shall board on the bus with the children. The operators of the buses shall report to the competent police station before operating the buses. The school buses are classified into the vehicles for the business use in the name of directors (so, not public) according to the Passenger Transport Service Act.

revealed the importance of shuttle buses in order to make daily journeys without adult companions. The other three cases also showed children's journeys by themselves, including one child accompanying an adult at least one time in a day.

Managing coordination points: Collapsing time

'Collapsing time' is the term used in business fields to indicate one of the strategies in the production process. Collapsing time enabled manufacturers to handle increased orders within shorter time by efficiently using supply chains (Towill, 1996). In a similar manner, it seems that some care providers transporting children were able to contribute to efficient travel arrangements by collapsing time in the cycles of daily journeys, since time compression was used by most respondents. In particular, families having multiple children could strategically split journeys between parents or, more commonly, with other care providers. They could simplify journeys in terms of making small distances and small numbers of journeys in a day. In that sense, collapsing time was found in the cases of transporting multiple children within one coordination point in particular times a day (e.g. on the way to school / nursery in the morning).

For example, simultaneous splitting journeys at specific time would be possible if there were at least two adults or one child old enough to travel without adult supervision while another child is accompanied by an adult. Otherwise, one carer would need to manage multiple journeys in a sequential way in a limited time frame. What is less apparent in this data is the actual rationale for the decisions made by parents in terms of these factors of location and distance when choosing childcare compared to checking care quality in depth. However, one mother explained that she chose two nurseries for her children so that they were adjacent not only to the home, but also between two nurseries as this would enable the grandmother to transport the children to and from the nurseries and home without difficulty. The next section will explore the situations for part-time working mothers and their families.

7.3 Daily Journeys of Part-time Working Mothers: Transporting children to and from childcare

Mother's involvement in daily journeys

Mothers transporting the children in a day

While most of full-time workers (9 out of 15) were not involved in transporting children, the majority of part-time working mothers were involved in the journeys (seven out of eight). Part-time jobs were obviously less constrained with long working hours outside typical times, enabling mothers to pick up the children in person. Most mothers also did not experience overtime (5 out

of 7). Though the remaining two mothers sometimes experienced overtime, the frequency or work intensity was much lower than the cases of full-time jobs. In addition, the part-time workers generally seemed to spend short commuting times contributing to the mother's actual involvement in transporting children. For instance, while most full-time working mothers spent more than one hour for daily commuting, part-time working mothers mainly spent around 30 minutes in a day. In general, factors concerned with times (e.g. overtime, commuting time) could possibly impact the mother's ability to travel with their children. Interestingly, most cases (seven out of eight) demonstrated that typical working hours (9.00 to 18.00) covered not only part-time working hours, but also commuting time and/or overtime hours. Therefore, daily journeys between house and care places (outside of house) were mainly made within the typical working hours, which means coordination points occurred within typical hours. Two case studies (cases eight and nine) are offered here to show the daily routines a simple and complex example each.

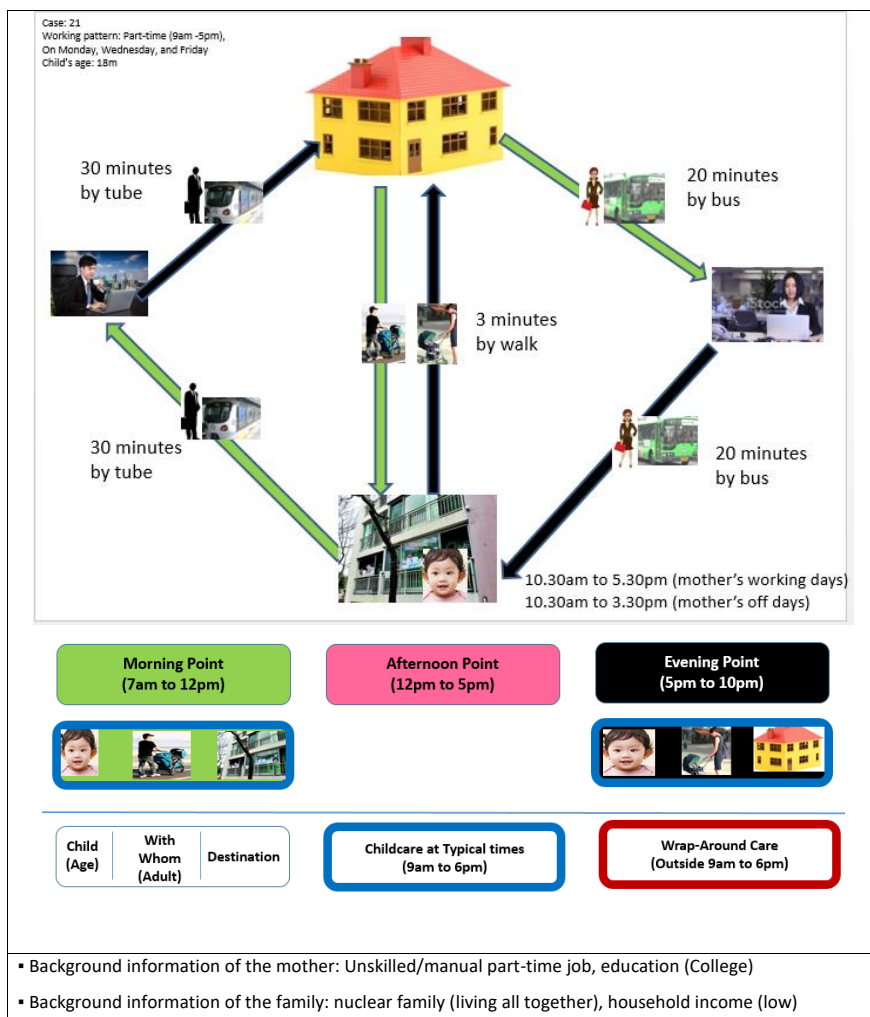
Case Study: Simple managements of daily journeys

Case study eight: the family with one infant transported by parents

This family raised one infant aged 18 months. The mother worked from 9.00 to 17.00 on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. The father worked from 11.00 to 22.00 during the week, which was the evening shift in his workplace. Since the parents had different working schedules, this family illustrates the alternation of travelling with the single child between the parents at different times of the day. In the morning, the mother left the home at 8.20, and she took a bus to get to the company by 8.50 (taking 20 minutes). Meanwhile, the father and child left home at 10.20 to get to the nursery by walk for 3 minutes (or travelling with a pram). The child stayed at the nursery from 10.30 to 17.30. The mother collected the child at 17.30 after finishing work at 17.00 and they returned home on foot.

While both parents had three daily journeys among home, nursery, and workplace, the child had two journeys between home and nursery like most preschool children who attended one institution. The child spent six minutes for the two journeys because of the walkable distance of the nursery from home. Above all, the two coordination points shared by parents enabled the family to simplify daily schedules despite no additional carer. If the father was not available in the morning, the mother may need to drop off the child at the nursery in the early morning (at about 8.10) before going to work, which would involve long care hours at the facility (8.10 to 17.30). This case presents a typical example of part-time workers in terms of mother's short working hours and a formal institution providing enough care hours (similar with case study 1). The day nursery fully covered the mother's commuting times as well as working times without involving overtime.

Figure 7.5: Case study eight- the example of simple daily journeys



Case Study: Complex managements of daily journeys

Case study nine: the family with three children transported by parents

Among the respondents, this family had the largest number of children aged ten, six and four years old. The oldest child was the primary school student, while her little sisters attended a nursery school. The father was a full-time worker working at typical working hours (9.00 to 18.00) and the mother worked from 9.00 to 14.00 on weekdays.

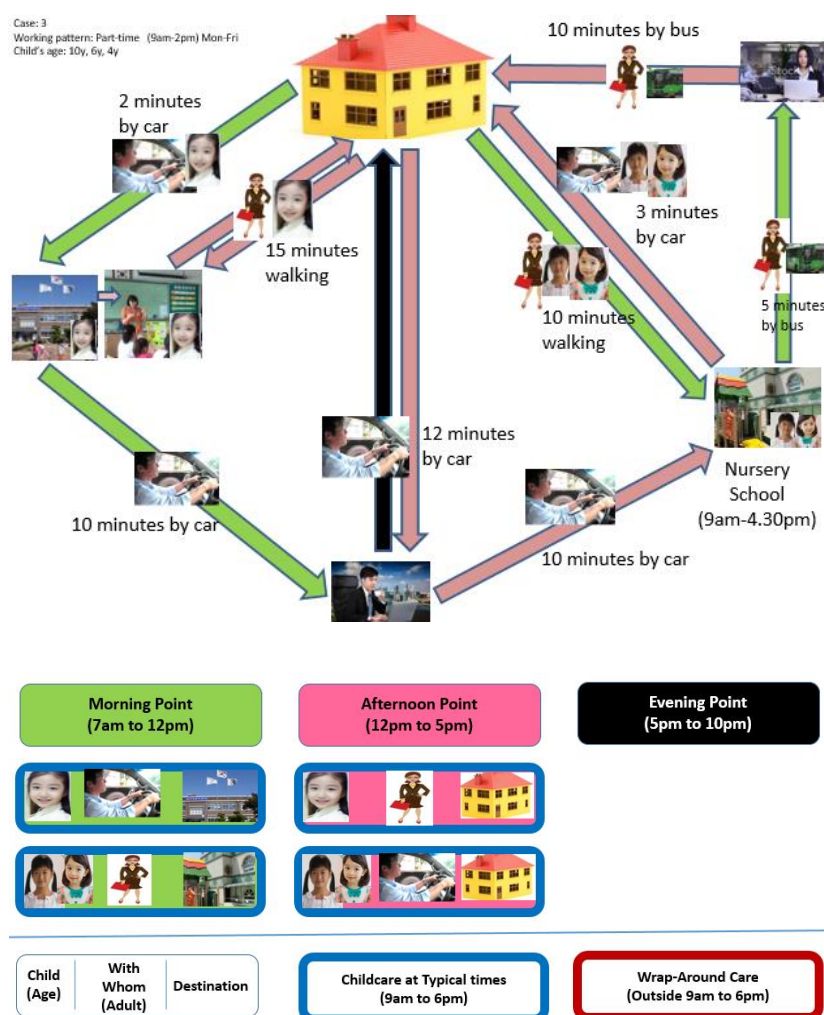
In the morning, the oldest child was driven from home to school (two minutes driving distance) by her father. At the same time, the mother and two preschool children walked to their nursery school (10 minutes). After dropping off the children, both parents went to their workplaces by driving the car (father) or by taking a bus (mother). At 14.00, the mother finished her work and returned home by the bus. It was a ten-minute bus ride from her office to home. After taking a break at home, she travelled to school on foot (15 minutes) to collect her oldest child before the child left school at 15.40. Meanwhile, the father picked up the two children from the nursery school at 16.30. It was about a three-minute drive from the nursery school to home. After that, the father returned to his office in order to finish his work.

This family made total fifteen journeys in a day, which was the second largest number among the cases including full-time workers. As an unusual example of father's active involvement, he made six journeys in a day, which was the second largest number amongst all the parents. The mother also had five journeys a day. In contrast, three children, attending only one institution per day, had minimal numbers of journeys (two times a day) between home and school /nursery school. Therefore, the coordination points occurred only four times in a day, which showed simple patterns compared to the complex daily journeys of the family.

As shown in figure 7.6, all the children had coordination points in the morning and afternoon, which means their daily schedules finished early at least before 17.00. The two preschool children shared the same coordination points by attending the same nursery school. It is noticeable that the parents managed two coordination points each and alternated the roles of picking up or dropping off the children across morning and afternoon points. For instance, the responsibility of transporting the oldest child was switched from father (morning) to mother (afternoon) and the transport mode was accordingly changed from car to walking. In order to arrange the trips, the parents considered various factors, such as the congested time around the school, proximity and children's tiredness. Crucially, the parents tried to minimize the number of journeys and time

required, otherwise the journeys would be multiplied. This family, nevertheless, seems to experience complex daily routines due to the large number of children in different age groups. Thus, this case suggests that rearing multiple children would involve a lot of daily journeys despite attending a small number of facilities.

Figure 7.6 Case study nine- the example of complex daily journeys



- Background information of the mother: Skilled/office part-time job, education (College)
- Background information of the family: nuclear family (living all together), household income (low)

Key Findings from the cases of part-time workers

Carers accompanying children and transportations

A total 15 carers were involved in transporting 13 children of 8 families. Ten of them were family members including 7 mothers, 2 fathers and 1 grandmother. Regarding non-family members, one carer indicates a nursery school teacher watching the child when she took a shuttle bus to go to HW in the afternoon. In terms of transport modes used by the individual carers, three people drove their own cars to/from childcare and others travelled on foot. These arrangements were similar patterns with the cases of full-time workers in terms of high dependence on family members and not using public transportations. Remaining carers (4 out of 15) were formal institutions (day nursery and nursery school) or informal institutions (HW) which operated shuttle buses. Like the section 7.2, the accompanied carer indicates someone who actually transports children to/from childcare and someone watches the children whenever they take and get off the shuttle buses.

Collapsing time: Simultaneous splitting journeys

There was no case of a family showing a child's entire trip without adult supervision, which means all the cases included at least one journey with an adult. Four out of eight families had multiple children expected to be transported by using the collapsing time. Of these, one family with twins attending the same nursery was not relevant to using this strategy (case study 1). Like the cases of full-time employees, the part-time workers' families could simultaneously split journeys if there were at least two adults or one child able to travel independently. Case study 9 showed the case of sharing the journeys between parents in order to separately transport three children. It seems to contribute to saving time, especially in the morning before getting to work. Another family showed the case of independent journeys made by one of the children. In the evening, the mother collected the youngest child from HW while the oldest child came back home from HW by herself on foot or taking a shuttle bus. On the contrary, one mother transported two preschool children in a sequential way because there was no adult or child old enough to take the shuttle bus by herself. Although part-time workers seemed to use longer time frames for transporting multiple children than full-time workers, the strategies for the time compression showed similar patterns between them.

Conclusion

Based on key messages from the findings, this part will summarise the findings from the cases of full-time and part-time workers. It will suggest crucial factors affecting the complexity of daily journeys and discuss strategies used to manage this complexity.

In terms of the factors making the complexity, the number and age of children seem to be the most influential factors. Especially, multiple children naturally increased the number of journeys and coordination points, since more children generally meant more facilities involving more coordination points. Thus, more people were needed to transport the children. In larger families with two children, children of different ages could be traveling to different places, increasing the complexity and time involved. In general, school children had more journeys than preschool children due to shorter operating care hours after school than the preschool institutions and many of them dropped by home between schedules. Crucially, private education outside school hours (in HW) involved complex daily journeys. Many school children had their final journeys in a day lasting until evening points, transported by mothers or shuttle buses

The strategies that contributed to managing the complexity included; collapsing time, using shuttle buses, children's independent journeys, walkable distance, close proximity among spaces, workplace nurseries, children living elsewhere, grandparents living in the house full-time or part-time, grandparents living nearby families, babysitters living in the house, fathers living together (not living elsewhere), father having understanding employer who let the child stay in his office, and both parents' involvement in transporting children.

Chapter seven highlighted key important factors enabling working mothers to coordinate childcare with paid work in the context of Korea. Interestingly, every respondent necessarily balanced two roles by having at least one supportive area in either working hours (e.g. part-time job) or other non-parental childcare (regarding children, temporal or spatial factors). However, the mother rarely mentioned working hours as the manageable areas. Instead, the support for childcare mainly came from family or market, because those are practically negotiable and adjustable resources supporting the mothers' paid work. It was also the mothers' responsibilities for making maximum use of the available resources such as arranging 24-hour wrap-around carers or living separately from the child. Chapter seven demonstrated their various actions and behaviours in terms of using available resources in order to coordinate daily routines. In this

context, the following chapter will focus on cultural and social practices behind the visible phenomenon.

Chapter Eight Managing childcare with paid work

Introduction

Chapter eight aims to examine circumstances and practices impacting working mothers in long term context, while previous chapters focused on the life of typical working days. Simultaneously, chapter eight will look at the specific issues as a working mother herself. It is likely that the employed mothers could be influenced by social factors surrounding them who were economically active people as well as mothers rearing dependent children in a contemporary Korean society. Analysing chapter eight started with two key words; challenges and strategies for overcoming the challenges, and all the processes will be defined as 'managing childcare with paid work' including arranging childcare (chapter 6) and coordinating childcare (chapter 7) as well.

The challenges will be found in either everyday practices (e.g. commute) or unexpected situations (e.g. child's sickness). The challenges also fell into two type; negotiable challenges (e.g. communication with grandmother) with or inflexible challenges (e.g. workplace culture). While chapter seven mainly looked at the childcare strategies for inflexible challenges (e.g. working hours) in everyday practices, chapter eight will deal with much wider scopes of challenges and strategies than chapter seven. Section 8.1 is concerned with chapter 7 in terms of managing daily routines and emergencies, and this section will concentrate on how mothers perceived the daily challenges. Section 8.2 will describe the strategies for relatively adjustable and manageable challenges by investigating the relationships with the carers. Lastly, section 8.3 will investigate mothering and the mother's perspective on policies, which also presents their ideas for better strategies and non-manageable challenges from the society and themselves.

8.1 Mothers' perspectives on the challenges

This section will highlight how mothers managed everyday challenges from a long term perspective. Their experiences were divided into three dimensions of challenges covering practical issues in relation to organizations, commute and exceptional events.

Organizational demands

Organizational culture

As described in chapter 7.1, more than half of respondents (14⁴⁷ out of 23) experienced overtime, which seems to relate to general atmosphere within the affiliated organizations of respondents. For instance, a flexible and non-intensive working environment was an advantageous factor for predictable working hours, which was mainly discovered in the cases of part-time workers. Above all, Part-time workers were less likely to be tied down by organizational culture than full-time working mothers who tend to be constrained as one of organization members in charge of major business. Some full-time working mothers experienced unfavourable environments for rearing a child in the conservative and male-dominated organizations.

The main problem of the negative environment appears not only lack of practical support, but also internal situations happening within the organizations. For example, though one mother worked at a workplace providing various childcare-friendly policies, she frequently witnessed colleagues' negative attitudes toward beneficiaries of the childcare support. In particular, working mothers could not freely leave the office earlier than other colleagues even after contracted quitting time. Other three mothers also similarly experienced uncomfortable and inflexible atmospheres which rarely permitted any flexibility in order for them to deal with childcare. Furthermore, workplaces showing negative environment for childcare tend to host frequent company dinner (dining together) which was generally regarded as an extension of work in Korea. Accordingly, five full-time working mothers should be obliged to participate in company dinner regularly or irregularly. It was certainly considered burdensome by the mothers who were responsible for bringing up dependent children.

Organizational sector

Under the atmosphere at their workplaces, mothers were in charge of managing their own tasks, which also tended to be related to working time. Some works involved many people often caused extension of working time because it was hard to start or finish the work on their own. Especially, most full-time workers were considerably influenced by their own businesses. For instance, two full-time workers were members of hierarchical organizations representing typical bureaucracies in Korea. They always waited for their works to be transferred from other departments. The transfer process involved obtaining a number of approvals in order from a person in charge. For instance, if at least one person in charge of the approval is out of office, the procedures were delayed in the associated departments, which ended up causing overtime.

Similarly, working time was also influenced by superiors, co-workers or clients in accordance with occupational characteristics. One full-time worker's job frequently demanded collaborative team projects which seemed to lengthen working time. It happened due to colleagues' slow progress

⁴⁷ Number of mothers who experienced overtime: Full-time workers (11 out of 15), Part-time workers (3 out of 8).

regardless of whether the mother completed her own parts or not. Mothers' working time also could be extended by reasons happening irregularly. Sometimes, two full-time workers had to work on Saturday and another full-time worker must answer the phone from clients even after returning home. One full-time worker experienced difficulties with sudden inspections conducted by an umbrella organization. The increased amount of work was also relevant to mothers' elevated positions within their workplaces. Two full-time working mothers experienced added responsibilities involving more overtime as they obtained promotions.

In the cases of part-time work, two mothers felt that the early quitting time (15.00) turned out not only advantages but also disadvantages, because they had to become substitute workers whenever shift workers were absent from work. Another mother engaged in sales business described her work was usually not finished on time so that she could keep contacting with customers, wholesalers, and couriers. Since many people were involved in the sales process from various routes, the mother was always busy for dealing with claims that occasionally occurred overtime hours.

Overall, the challenges related to overtime at workplaces tend to be cultural and structural problems within Korean context as well as the context of each workplace, though part-time jobs seem to be less restricted by the organizational culture than full-time jobs. Therefore, it turned out that mothers used strategies for arranging suitable childcare in order to overcome the temporal challenges as described in chapter 7. Therefore, it is likely that managing childcare would be utmost effort as a manageable and changeable area from the perspective of working mothers, because it might be difficult for taking actions against organizational demands as an employee.

Nevertheless, some full-time workers were able to reduce overtime through occupational negotiations or using transfer of personnel. Especially, caring young children made the mothers decide to abandon some parts of their careers so that they could avoid overtime as much as possible. For instance, one mother refused to promote to a higher position due to longer working hours. One mother rearing an infant applied for the current department which was well known for childcare-friendly environments despite limited opportunities for promotion and job training. Another mother handed over some parts of her business to an unmarried male co-worker. She described that it could be a win-win situation for both of them who actively pursued different target goals in the same period (e.g. a mother pursuing childcare and the male colleague pursuing promotion). It seems likely that they temporarily forwent career development in order to focus on childcare for a while. However, the mothers recognized the abandonment was their own strategies in order to avoid career-break, because they were able to have more time for childcare rather than being exhausted by busy works. Conceivably, the mothers would not have needed to

make the decisions if there were more supports and childcare-friendly environments for developing careers.

Commuting challenges

In terms of difficulties for managing daily journeys, some full-time working mothers mentioned the challenges in relation to long commuting hours. As mentioned in chapter 7, full-time workers generally spent longer commuting times than part-time workers. Two full-time working mothers usually experienced traffic rush hours because they had to travel to the centre of downtown. The other two mothers always consumed about two or three hours per day due to distant workplaces from home even without traffic congestions. One mother consuming more than three hours for commuting specified the difficulties as below.

I usually stay on the tube for three hours a day to get to the distant workplace. I need to stand most of the time due to lack of seats. So, the bus would be more comfortable (due to enough seats), but I don't use it in order to save time for about 30 minutes a day. I know the long commute distance hinders the quality of my life, but it could not be resolved unless I get a new job nearby home. (Full-time worker, two children)

The commuting challenges tend to be predictable in capital Seoul characterized by a huge and traffic jammed city. Thus, most mothers commuting within or across Seoul seemed to take actions as soon as possible before they actually experienced challenges.

For instance, in order to avoid the traffic congestions at typical commuting hours (immediately before 9.00/after 18.00), four full-time working mothers adjusted their working time by means of using selective or flexible working time system (two mothers), employer's approval (one mother) or by her own (one mother). Of these, two mothers delayed starting time of work for 20 minutes (9.20-18.20) or 1 hour (10.00-19.00), while one mother spontaneously arrived at her office 30 minutes ahead of the contracted time.

Another mother could decide working hours from seven hours to nine hours a day as long as she meets the weekly working hours (45 hours) based on the flexible working time system. That is, several full-time working mothers seem to rearrange their working hours within current workplaces in order to manage commuting challenges. Except for the four cases, remaining full-time workers were able to cover commuting hours only by arranging wrap-around carers because it was difficult to change those hours by reason of individual situations. In general, commuting challenges outwardly seem to be more manageable routines than organizational demands. However, without organizational support for commuting arrangements, commute was generally

regarded as an inflexible problem as if employees are hard to manage organizational culture on their own.

Exceptional events

In terms of exceptional events requiring back-up care, the majority of reasons were relevant to children's sickness as almost all respondents had at least one experience. Children's sickness was mainly resolved by the regular carers as long as child's illness was not quite serious. Otherwise, mothers arranged back-up care or mothers had to take holidays. Especially, child's age was also an important factor impacting on the frequency of emergencies. That is, it is likely that working mothers might undergo emergencies less often as children get older. Two mothers with school children in higher grades mentioned there seems to be much less emergencies than the period of preschool childcare now as the children were older. On the other hand, four mothers rearing infants or sickly preschool children stated frequent children's illness as being a reason for emergency care. One of the mothers expressed her situation as 'continuous standby status with tensions' due to her sickly child.

'I faced with serious problems whenever my youngest child was hospitalized. The biggest problem was how to care for the oldest child during the youngest child's hospitalization. After using all the paid holidays, I tried every way such as asking for care to the nursery even after operating time, father's bringing the child to his office, or request neighbours despite no familiar relationship. The final measure was living separately from the oldest child for a while by putting her at the grandparents' house. (Full-time worker, two children aged 4y and 2y)

In relation to school aged children, two mothers felt difficulties for arranging back-up care every time schools arranged events, because schools finished earlier than usual. In terms of school vacations, since primary schools generally operated out-of-school classes during vacations, most mothers could feel free from setting back-up care. Nevertheless, two mothers still worried about childcare for a certain period of vacation time (for about one or two weeks) owing to shortened care time from school or stopping operation of the classes.

Apart from the children's situations, emergency situations sometimes happened to regular carers. However, while formal childcare institutions did not cause emergencies, most mothers who arranged informal carers (e.g. grandmother or babysitter) experienced expected or unexpected situations required to call back-up carers. Unexpected situations were mainly related to grandmothers' health problems, or grandmothers urgently had to return to home due to family affairs. However, those situations rarely happened to the in-home carers. Mothers were generally

told pre-planned schedules of them beforehand. Accordingly, mothers were able to arrange the back-up care or one of parent's holidays in advance.

Dealing with those events usually involved the process of making decisions about arranging back-up care. Mothers mainly contacted pre-arranged backup-carers. If the carers were not available, mothers got in touch with the child's father, other regular carers, acquaintances, or relatives.

In the meantime, mothers seem to decide whether they need to take a leave or not. In other words, mothers had to become a back-up carer if any situation requires maternal care. For this, the availability of annual and monthly paid holidays was important matter. Six mothers felt they received enough leaves to manage childcare matters. One of them described that while the available number of holidays had been increased by going through several promotions, the necessity of using holidays to manage emergencies has decreased as the children grew up. However, most mothers generally had around fifteen annual holidays including summer holidays. In particular, four mothers rearing multiple children including at least one preschool child emphasized the lack of holidays. One of them experienced the shortage of annual holidays in every second half of the year because she already used most of her holidays in the first half of the year.

Meanwhile, mothers sometimes needed to vacate the office for a couple of hours rather than taking a whole day leave. For instance, they needed to delay the attendance time in order to take the sick children to the hospital by asking for understanding of superiors. On the other hand, some mothers could reduce working time as benefits from the employee welfare. One pregnant mother was permitted to arrive one hour late and another mother was able to leave office one hour early once a month. In addition, the way of getting paid was also regarded as one of the merits for the temporary absence at some time of a day. While most respondents received monthly salaries, three part-time working mothers were hourly paid. Accordingly, leaving the office for a short time was more acceptable than monthly payment's job because the wage was automatically deducted while they were out of office.

Apart from the availability of absence by official rules, mothers also had to consider more internal issues such as how their own businesses will be handled whilst they were out of office. Three full-time workers mentioned their colleagues could replace the works according to a work manual describing alternative works. In contrast, two full-time working mothers were in charge of special tasks that could not be managed by substitutive workers. Since the businesses should be approved only by them, they had to go to the offices no matter how difficult the situations were.

The hospitalization of my oldest occurred during the busiest period of the year from my work. To make matters worse, I could not take holidays due to the

business that should be authorized by me. So I commuted between hospital and workplace for a week in order to take turns with the grandmother or father who looked after the child at hospital. (Professional full-time worker, children aged 5y and 20m).

This case shows that exceptional events simultaneously happened such as child's sickness, impossible substitutive work or impossible taking day off, father's long working hours, and the shortage of back-up carers. Obviously, it seems to be challenging circumstance for the working mother who was primarily responsible for major business at work as well as mothering.

8.2 Managing relationships with the team around the child

This section will look at relationships between mothers and other carers who looked after the same children. Here, the team around the child includes parents, regular carers and back-up carers, though it turned out that most findings tend to focus on the relationships between mothers and regular carers. Since many mothers shared considerable parts of mothering with other non-parental carers, managing relationships with them was mother's crucial responsibility for keeping stable childcare with paid work. In the process of keeping relationships, the most noticeable issue was how mothers communicated with carers, which showed different patterns according to the types of regular carers.

Communications between mothers and informal carers

Since mothers mainly alternated childcare roles with informal carers at home, they generally talked with them face to face except for one mother living separately from her child. While some mothers felt that they had enough time to talk with the carers, others recognized lack of time for conversations. For instance, two mothers usually had no time to talk with their mother-in-law living together, owing to busy evening routines. Rather, one mother living separately from the child and grandmother frequently contacted grandmothers by phone in order to ask after her child. Although several mothers stated that they usually spent much time to communicate with the carers, the main reason of conversation was slightly different according to each case. Two mothers thought they could improve the collaboration of childcare by many conversations. The other two mothers mentioned the communication was more likely listening to what grandmothers said than reciprocal communication. They tried to meet the grandmothers' needs of talking and being heard, because they should have had hard and boring days with young children at home. The first two cases showed that communications were strategies for better sharing of childcare and the other two cases present strategies for keeping good relationships with carers.

The relationship between mothers and in-home carers generally looks familiar and close because of family relations or living together. Nonetheless, the close relations could include possibilities for causing conflicts between them. Three mothers always strived for avoiding the conflicts since they assumed the conflicts eventually might exert on children. The other three mothers felt difficulties due to different ways of nurturing children among carers. For instance, one mother concerned about the confusion of children due to inconsistent upbringing styles (e.g. education for good behaviour) by three carers. Since the differences tended to result from different characteristics among carers, it was not easy to mediate the differences by herself. Similarly, four mothers experienced generation gaps which caused conflicting opinions on child education. For example, mothers in contemporary Korea were generally interested in early childhood English education, which was hard to be understood or supported by grandmothers. In contrast, two mothers described that opposite tendencies between mothers and grandmothers resulted in complementary influence on cooperative childcare because they had confidence in different parts each other. For instance, one forgetful mother could be supported by the meticulous grandmother.

As a way of maintaining comfortable relationships, mothers tend to care about considerate attitudes towards informal carers when mothers talked with them. There were respectful styles of talking by minimizing interventions in nurturing ways of the carers as long as there was no serious problem with the children. Nonetheless, several mothers were sometimes faced with situations that needed to give opinions on safety or well-being of the children. Especially, they seemed to avoid straightforward expressions even if there was any complaint. For instance, two mothers mainly delivered opinions of experts or tried to make carers understand the child's views rather than expressing their own views. In order to avoid conflicts, one mother apportioned the roles of childcare in detail (e.g. giving bath, helping with child's homework). After that, the mother and grandmother no longer came into conflicts which were mostly caused by sharing same works.

Regarding styles of talking, contemporary mothers were quite careful for talking to formal carers (e.g. nursery teachers) as well, which was called 'unwritten law' among them. However, grandmothers might be hard to notice the unwritten law used amongst mothers. As a result, some grandmothers seem to break the unwritten law, which presents intergenerational differences between mothers and grandmothers. In particular, three mothers thought the grandmothers seem to have demanding characteristics. Thus, two mothers carefully persuaded the grandmothers so that they could refrain from the frequent requirements to the nursery. Another mother already encountered the problematic situation due to the grandmother's unreasonable demands at the previous day nursery. Accordingly, the mother did not share

transporting children with the grandmother in order to prevent the conflicting situation beforehand, even though the grandmother stayed at the family's home near the nursery.

'Whenever the teacher talked about the child's problematic behaviours, the grandmother felt quite uncomfortable, because she misunderstood the teacher's intentions as criticism about her nurturing. The thing is, the grandmother had many complaints about hygiene at the nursery, and she expressed the uncomfortable feelings by complaining about the hygiene at the same time. After that, the teacher never talked about the child's problems with the grandmother.' (Full-time worker, children aged 4y and 2y)

A director of a private day nursery commented on a reason why some mothers had concerns about the relationships not only between mothers and teachers, but also between grandmothers and teachers. Anecdotal evidence was provided by a nursery director running a home-based nursery.

Directors in the same region generally know each other through a relevant association, so some of them secretly share the black list of impolite or tricky mothers' children. On the list, there are sometimes several children having very gentle mothers and very tricky grandmothers at the same time.

Paying for informal childcare

While mothers paid for formal childcare according to fixed fees, pricing for informal childcare reflected particular contexts of family or carers. Thus, the ways of payment mainly depended on mothers' own decisions, and additional rewards (except for financial payment) were also managed by mothers.

Financial payment as a form of monthly salary

In general, most mothers who arranged regular informal carers paid monthly salaries as ten mothers mentioned. The ways of paying salary showed three patterns. First of all, four mothers took into account market price for private babysitters. They explained that the price for hiring a babysitter has been formed in private childcare market. Even though the grandmothers and mothers were family relations, the mothers willingly paid the salary as much as private babysitters were usually paid. It is notable that they entirely entrusted infant care to the carers all day (without sending children to any formal childcare), which was main reason for the expensive payment. On the other hand, the other four mothers paid the salary less than the typical market price. Though the mothers did not reveal the exact cost, they paid 50 per cent to 70 per cent compared to market price. In common, all the carers were the grandmothers who might possibly show permissive attitudes toward lower payment than the market price. Above all, the children

attended day nurseries during the daytime, which might accompany less care burdens than the cases of all-day care. In addition, mothers considered limitations of household budget (e.g. payment for another baby sitter as well or mortgage) or alternative ways for the additional reward.

Meanwhile, the other three mothers tried to match the salary in line with wage of the carer's previous jobs, because the carers had maintained their own jobs before starting the current childcare. One of the carers had a long experience as a babysitter. Thus, the mother considered not only the previous wage, but also the guaranteed reliability when she negotiated the salary with the sitter. Five out of the ten mothers provided additional rewards added to the monthly salary. The most common rewards included irregular pocket money in particular on national holidays, and medical examinations on a regular basis. One mother who hired an in-home sitter was considerate to enable the babysitter to take a holiday whenever she received leaves from her company. Given that the majority of informal carers were grandmothers, it might be assumed that many grandmothers were in paid employment by caring their grandchildren.

Payment without monthly salary

Three mothers did not pay grandmothers on a regular basis, which seem to be quite different from the cases described above. The grandmothers commonly have started to look after the children since childbirth. Interestingly, though the grandmothers were paid when the children were quite young, it has been gradually changed to non-payment. As the dependence on formal institutions has been naturally increased in accordance with the children's growth, the children much less needed hands from the grandmothers than the early stage. Therefore, two mothers who have lived with the grandmothers (that is, three generation family) supplemented living expenses or gave irregular pocket money. Another mother also sometimes gave pocket money or gifts and arranged at least one overseas trip in a year. Although she was able to afford the financial reward for the grandmother's care, the grandparents did not want to receive the money anymore after the child's entrance of a nursery because they were economically better off. Instead, the grandparents desired to spend more time with the family. That's why she tried to prepare for family dining and family trips as often as possible.

Apart from the amount of practical rewards, four mothers stressed on understanding the lives of grandmothers and their sacrifices due to grandchild care. Accordingly, one mother's strategy was to treat friends of the grandmother to dinner as a kind of reward for the hardship of grandchild care. More importantly, the mother intended to save grandmother's face, because most friends hold unfavourable views on childcare due to the grandmother's health problems. Considering the

hierarchical relationships⁴⁸, the mother wanted to maintain the grandmother's dignity by showing her respect to the mother-in-law in front of her friends.

Communication between mothers and formal carers

There seem to be more diverse and systematic means of communication with formal carers than with informal carers. Mothers of preschool aged children frequently got in touch with teachers at day nursery or nursery school, because the cooperation seems to be an essential process in accordance with the children's early development stage. Mothers had to negotiate with carers the bulk of caregiving works such as feeding, sleeping, toileting, and mastery of basic living habits according to developmental tasks (e.g. teaching how to use chopsticks around 3 years old). Thus, the flow of communication tends to feature two-way between mothers and carers in everyday practices.

First of all, mothers who were actually involved in ferrying children talked with teachers whenever they dropped off or picked up children. In addition, talking on the phone was also a common tool for communication. Generally, while teachers in charge of infants often called to mothers due to intensive care for infants, mothers having children aged more than three years old got the call only when something happened to children. The most regular and common resource for communication was 'child's diary' in the form of booklets which included notices, teacher's handwritten messages in terms of child everyday life. On the other hand, four mothers used mobile version of the child's diary. Recently, many institutions have started to operate mobile service (called 'Kids' note') which can immediately upload institutions' notices, teachers' messages, and daily photos of children. Online chatting between teachers and mothers was also available via the mobile application. In addition, five mothers maintained relationships not only with the child's teachers, but also directors at child's day nurseries. It is notable that the nurseries seem to feature special purpose's care (e.g. care services only for infants or the disabled). These services required the directors' interventions in order to provide more specialized care than other general facilities.

Mothers also communicated with teachers providing care by the hour, involving much shorter care times than the cases above. The first way was message delivery. For instance, when children took day nursery shuttle bus in the morning, one mother gave a simple message to a teacher on the bus, for example, children's tiredness after weekend trip or caution about administration. After getting to know the message, the teacher instantly wrote the mother's message in a formal

⁴⁸ As chapter two described, among the various family relations, the most typical Confucian tradition in Korea still tends to be found in the relationships between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, though only one respondent stated the experience in this study.

form called 'messages from parents', and then passed on the information to the nursery school teacher. Thus, the teacher on the bus was a vital part of the coordination point in that they also transmit messages from parents to teachers. One mother who sent her primary school child to a five HW described how HW electronically managed the child's education via website. The mother registered the website as a parent member, and then could check the current progress of curriculum and her child's achievements including visible data, and notices from HW. Above all, the mother was able to leave her message or question according to the provided information, which could be available for conveying reciprocal feedback between them.

In general, sessional or short-time childcare also arranged their own ways of communication with mothers, which tended to entail more distinct purposes than communications for long-time care. For instance, the major issue with school children seems more likely to be educational achievements or children's own interests in learning activities. The relationship with carers thus tends to be changed from close relationships by sharing childcare to more formal relationships by getting necessary information about education. Thus, mothers of school children tend to get one-way based messages from teachers. Especially, as children get older, mothers might be more aware of what is necessary for the child by means of objective information, visible outcomes, and the children's own opinions, while the main issue of caring younger children seems to be reliable and safe care.

In terms of difficulties for managing communications with formal carers, two mothers using workplace day nurseries usually experienced a lack of time to speak with teachers. In the morning, the mothers rushed to their offices in order to arrive on time. When they picked up the children in the evening, the nursery was crowded with children and parents with similar working times in the same company. In the case of one child having two teachers in her classroom, the mother's message was not delivered well from one teacher to another if the one teacher forgot to tell to the other what the mother said. Thus, the mother thought speaking to the director of the nursery was the quickest way to convey her message to both teachers at a time. In general, difficulties for communication with formal carers were much less mentioned than informal carers. It appears that formal relationships generally involved less possibility for causing conflicts than family relations due to officially assigned roles, formal ways of communication, and delegating parts of childcare rather than sharing the childcare or house work at the same place.

Nevertheless, the formal relationships with the teachers seem to make mothers be careful of communications in various ways. Above all, mothers firstly emphasized the importance of trust toward teachers. It is noticeable that the trust was not addressed for the relationships with informal carer, because most already formed trust-based relationships with mothers or their acquaintances before arranging them. However, the nature of relationships with formal carers

seems to be different from the familiar relations. In general, mothers would be difficult to make choices in specific teachers at formal institutions. Thus, most formal carers tend to be unknown people, which could involve mothers' extra efforts for building trust. Another reason for stressing trust was related to mothers' concerns about recent reporting in terms of child abuse by teachers happening at several day nurseries. Despite the increased trend of distrust toward day nurseries, one mother tried to believe that accidents rarely happened in most day nurseries. Another mother was dissatisfied with a CCTV not being installed in her child's classroom like many day nurseries. However, she was gradually confident in reliability of the teachers even without CCTV as time passed. Based on the trust, mothers tried to respect teachers' ways as specialists in education and care while mothers tend to respect nurturing ways of informal carers as seniors of their families or experienced caregivers. The respectful attitude was also essential in order to bridge sustained education and discipline between institutions and homes.

In terms of attitudes, four mothers refrained from hasty actions such as complaints or frequent questions to check trivial matters. They thus seem to beware misunderstanding only by listening to what children said about the teachers or what they witnessed in specific situations. In addition, mothers usually did not call teachers first unless there was a crucial question or problem. As a strategy, one mother always tried to put the child's words, babysitter's words, and teachers' words (written in child's diary) together prior to actually calling the nursery school. Two mothers addressed the importance of keeping objective perspective on children. Generally, children's behaviours at institutions could possibly be different from home, which was difficult to be noticed by mothers beforehand. Overall, the commonality of most mothers' strategy was saving the language for comfortable relationships with teachers. In that sense, one mother mentioned that the strategy is, as it were, a kind of 'unwritten law' among contemporary mothers. In other words, mothers informally shared the unwritten laws which emphasized on avoiding frequent calling or complaints to the teachers who may look after the children for long periods in a day. That is, keeping the law seems to be parts of good mothering in order for children to be well cared for. It appears that the important matters concerned with nursery life were directly managed by mothers regardless of grandmother care. Here is the anecdotal evidence from a workplace day nursery teacher who mentioned the limitations on talking with grandmothers.

The more issues of children are important, the more teachers tend to discuss the issues not with grandmothers but with mothers, because they thought the mothers eventually seem to confirm and manage almost every matter with children regardless of actual time with children.

Nevertheless, another mother stated that the careful attitude is available as long as the children did not show any problematic behaviours at the institutions. When her children underwent difficulties in adapting the day nursery, the mother actively communicated with directors as well

as teachers by frequent visits for counselling and phone calling to the teacher in order to overcome the children's problems. This collaborative approach to problem solving mainly aimed to exchange sufficient information about children (e.g. atopic dermatitis) as soon as possible, which brought about success in the adaption. This case also shows the significance of bridging consistent care between home and institution.

Father's participation in childcare

Although all the respondents were wives in dual-earner couples, father's involvement in childcare generally tends to be supplementary roles in comparison to most mothers as primary carers with paid employment. Nonetheless, the extent of the father's childrearing was diversely recognized by mothers according to each family's situation- in particular, the father's working hours. Here, the extent of the father's participation was more likely the mother's subjective perception showing the sketchy division of care between parents rather than actually used time for fathering. Eight mothers were satisfied with the father's active involvement in childcare. They felt the fathers were able to provide good-enough fathering as needed in daily routines. Of these, four mothers stated that the father's active childcare was possible due to not only flexible working environment, but also family-oriented personality. One mother thought the two factors seem to show mutual interactions. The father's family-oriented personality enabled him to choose the less intensive works than typical jobs in Korea, and the comfortable working environment seems to vitalize the father's characteristic as a family man.

On the other hand, two mothers having extremely long hours thought fathers were more involved in childcare than them during the week, though the fathers also had jobs involving long working hours like other typical companies in Korea. The fathers tried to fill the vacancy of busy mothers for their children at least on working days. Interestingly, the other two fathers who hardly ever participated in childcare in the past have gradually increased the time for fathering. One of the fathers had changed his job from a strenuous one to one much more relaxed. After that, the father hoped to compensate the absence due to tough working schedules in the meantime by maximizing time with children. Another mother stated the father's role has been altered according to the child's growth. There were occasional conflicts between parents due to the father's indifferent attitude toward childrearing until the child's school entrance. However, the mother recently noticed that the parents could start sharing the parenting roles for the first time because the father was highly interested in his son's academic achievement according to his educational and occupational background. In addition, as the child got older, the father had conversations with his son as often as possible, which noticeably increased time with the son.

Meanwhile, other eight mothers mentioned fathers could not have enough time to look after children in their daily lives. Especially, three fathers rarely participated in childcare for a whole week, because they often had weekend shifts or business trips in addition to long working hours during the week. Since the fathers tended to be unwilling to take care of the children even on their holidays owing to tiredness, the mothers seemed to feel obliged to take complete responsibility for childcare. On the other hand, most fathers obviously strived to maximize time with their children within a limited time. Above all, using weekend was the important strategy for the fathers as well to overcome time shortage with children on working days as mothers also emphasised on using weekend time to spend time with children. Thus, six mothers called the weekend 'family time' which was particularly crucial time for commuting families. Apart from the trials to secure time with children, four fathers tried to do their best in their own ways such as studying childcare and education or sending the gifts for the children through the service from dispatch rider.

Mother's strategies for encouraging father's involvement in childcare

As seen so far, it is likely that the most crucial factor impacting on whether fathers were regularly able to look after the child or not would be working hours, likewise the importance of the mother's. Since the father's working schedule tends to be fixed and unchangeable, most mothers did not express complaints despite the fathers' low participation in childcare. Thus, mothers tend to resolve the problems of parents' busy schedules by arranging non-parental caregivers rather than negotiations between parents. Except for emergency situations needing father's back-up care, mothers usually wanted to increase fathering time not for the mothers, but for the children. Most respondents seriously considered children's early developmental stage required paternal affection.

Accordingly, four mothers sometimes arranged an occasion only for father and child to spend time together. For instance, one mother intentionally arranged summer holidays on different dates from the father's holidays in order to make time for father and child. Since the child recognized the father who is too busy to play with her, the mother hoped that the child could have childhood memories of spending time with the father. More practically, two mothers tried to give small but definite roles of daily childcare to fathers. Similarly, another mother always encouraged the father to take the child out at child's favourite place (e.g. amusement park), because the child always looked for the mother only without feeling attachment with the father. More practically, two mothers tried to give small but definite role of daily childcare to fathers.

One of them realized many fathers did not take active actions at all unless there is their own duty, because many fathers tend to assume childcare is mainly the mother's responsibility. According to

advice from acquaintances, she asked the father to read a fairy tale book at least five minutes a day, which was helpful for a sense of responsibility for time with children and improving attachment between father and children. Meanwhile, two mothers more actively required to increase fathering by intervention in managing father's schedules. For instance, one mother negotiated the specific childcare roles with the father according to weekdays and weekends. The mother described she had to manage the father's weekend plans, otherwise the father made lots of appointments during whole weekends. Another mother also persuaded the father, saying it is time to invest for young children rather than managing personal networks.

One mother could not get involved in the father's schedules like the two mothers above when he used to aggressively pursue career developments and promotions. At that time, the father definitely believed the success in careers was the most important fathering in order to support home economy as a breadwinner. In terms of the reasons, she explained other cases showing typical characteristics of Korean fathers as well as her case because the mother had the longest history as a mother (having the oldest child) among the respondents. The mother said that many fathers typically tend to regard mothers' jobs that could be quit if there is something wrong with work or family, while fathers thought they could not stop working no matter the difficult circumstances. After understanding the psychological burden of the fathers, the mother obviously noticed reduced conflicts with him in terms of childcare.

In a similar way, one mother decided to give up certain parts of fathering for a while, because the father could not help but avoid the working reality within Korean context. In particular, the mother explained that the father was standing at a critical point like many other fathers aged late thirties to mid-forties, because it would be decided shortly whether he could be promoted to executive position or not. The two cases demonstrate that there seemed to be gaps between father's perspectives on the sense of responsibility as a breadwinner and the actual family model of them as a dual-earner family. The mothers thus tended to understand the psychological burden of fathers rather than having active negotiations or coming into conflicts.

8.3 Problems and Strategies within the Korean context

This section explores the views on mothering and policy. As being a good mother was a common interest across the respondents, mothers clearly perceived the barriers to good mothering which should be managed by varied strategies. Mothers suggested how the policies could be improved for supporting mothering.

Social recognition toward working mothers

Based on the experiences as a working mother, respondents described how Korean society treated them in particular general awareness or attitude toward working mothers. It turned out that most of them recognized positive social perspectives. Seven mothers emphasized on the important point that the positive views have increased over the last several years. One of the reasons is that mothers' paid work has become a common phenomenon in contemporary Korea with the number of working mothers increasing. Accordingly, the negative preconception about working mothers and their children (e.g. 'Working mother's child might become a problem child due to their mother's absence.') has almost disappeared. One mother explained that there was no boss or co-worker responsible for childcare when she was about to be employed at her current job about ten years ago. Thus, she did not have any role model who continued the life as a working mother, whereas she has become an example of a working mother for her junior colleagues. The increased number of working mothers was also related to the expansion of policy support for working mothers. Five mothers claimed the relevant policies have contributed to the availability of mother's paid work such as paid parental leave or increase of childcare facilities with all-day care with no fees or less cost than before. That is, staying at home for childcare was an economically better option in the past. However, increased free day nurseries enabled many mothers to participate in labour market. In general, it appears that favourable atmosphere toward mother's paid work has been formed according to interrelated influences of social changes and policy supports for the changes.

Problems in managing mothering with paid work

Despite the positively improved social perspectives and social supports, contemporary mothers were still responsible for dealing with problems surrounding them so that they could reconcile mothering with working commitments. Though the problems seemed to come from individual situations, most situations eventually reflected Korean context.

Time-poverty

As described in previous sections, everyday challenges seem to be closely related to the shortage of time in daily lives. Regardless of employment status, mothers generally felt pressure from hours spent for paid work, since they needed to care for children as well within their limited time in a day. Except for two part-time working mothers, the majority of mothers mentioned they always encountered time-poverty for childcare during the week. The two part-time workers who

did not reply about a shortage of time, commonly mentioned satisfaction in comparison to the past experiences as full-time workers. Moreover, their work finished early (14.00) and their children's schedules also finished early (17.00), making enough family time in the evening. However, mothers who worked all day at typical hours (9.00 to 18.00) could spend time with children about three hours in a day. Moreover, three full-time workers could not have time for childcare during the weekend as well due to occasional weekend rota. Considering long working hours in a non-childcare-friendly environment experienced by many respondents, it is clear that a shortage of time for childcare would be a natural result.

Raising a child naturally involved more responsibilities and less spare time in everyday life than before. Nonetheless, most employed mothers were still in charge of a volume of business, which would be one of reasons for the time-poverty. Four full-time workers addressed the need to forget their identity as a mother during working hours. Of these, one mother stressed the same responsibility was given at work regardless of whether employees were responsible for childcare or not. In that sense, another mother thought that her most difficult role was as an employee, because employees tend to be evaluated only by job performance irrespective of their own circumstances. Thus, difficulties involving mothering could not be an excuse at inflexible organizations, while family members at home could become involved. They strictly refrained from showing mother's image in order to maintain professional attitudes and survive at the non-childcare friendly organizations, which would finally lead to time-poverty with children.

Quality of time with children

More importantly, five full-time workers mentioned not only the quantity of time but also quality of childcare was problematic. They could not help consuming most in available hours for feeding or giving baths without having quality interaction with child. Mothers who had several children or at least one infant, seriously perceived a lack of time regardless of whether they got help from other in-home carers. On the other hand, spending time with school children showed different types of time shortage. Three mothers commented how their children were busy with homework or studying all evening like many Korean primary school students with educational pressures. Moreover, mothers felt the limitation of quality care concerning raising multiple children. According to similar cases experienced by four mothers, one child's character tended to be diametrically opposed to another child's character. For instance, while one child seems to have an outgoing and active personality, another child looked introverted and calm. The mothers emphasised special concerns for the quiet child who could not easily receive a mother's attention in comparison to another sibling who expressed feelings and needs effectively. One mother

acknowledged that she used to leave her oldest child alone in almost every evening, because she was caring for the tricky youngest child as well as being late in returning home. It appears that lack of quality time with children was mainly found in the cases of full-time workers irrespective of age or number of children.

Feeling guilty

Many mothers recognized lack of time usually involved the limitation of scrupulous care and education for children, which resulted in feeling guilt about not being good mothers. Notably, six mothers described experiences where they unavoidably felt frustrated due to comparisons with non-working mothers. For instance, two mothers had to care about what children said to them such as a preschool child's desire to go to nursery with the mother like other friends rather than going to there with her grandmother. One mother with a school child stated the similar situations in detail.

One day, my daughter seriously complained, "Only my locker is messy, because the (non-working) mothers of (named) my friends always come to the classroom in order to tidy up their lockers. They also have got lovely small boxes inside the locker (for the organization)." I could not even think about her locker or the boxes, of course, you know I cannot come to her classroom due to work though. (Full-time worker with one child aged 8y).

On the other hand, regardless of what someone else said, four mothers were personally conscious of relatively insufficient care themselves and they explained the reasons of the insufficiency in comparison with general non-working mothers. One full-time worker explained she could not accurately grasp and notice what children really need at the developmental stage. Thus, though she usually tried to prepare various activities or materials, about nine times out of ten, trials were unsuitable for her child (18 months). In general, they tended to focus on what they missed in better mothering and how they could do more for their children in spite of efforts to fill the gaps caused by working hours.

Concern about child's education

A child's education was the major issue across most respondents because of high education fever in Korea (Park, JS et al., 2014), though the degree of interests seems to be different according to views on education. Regarding the views, three mothers believed that maintaining their own career involving a broader view of the world (one mother) let them get rid of obsessions about their child's education. Apart from the time shortage for managing education, they did not place much emphasis on educational achievement by addressing the happy growing period. However,

one of them explained some children of working mothers (including her children) seem to show slow progress in learning lessons as a result of their mothers' relaxed attitude toward education.

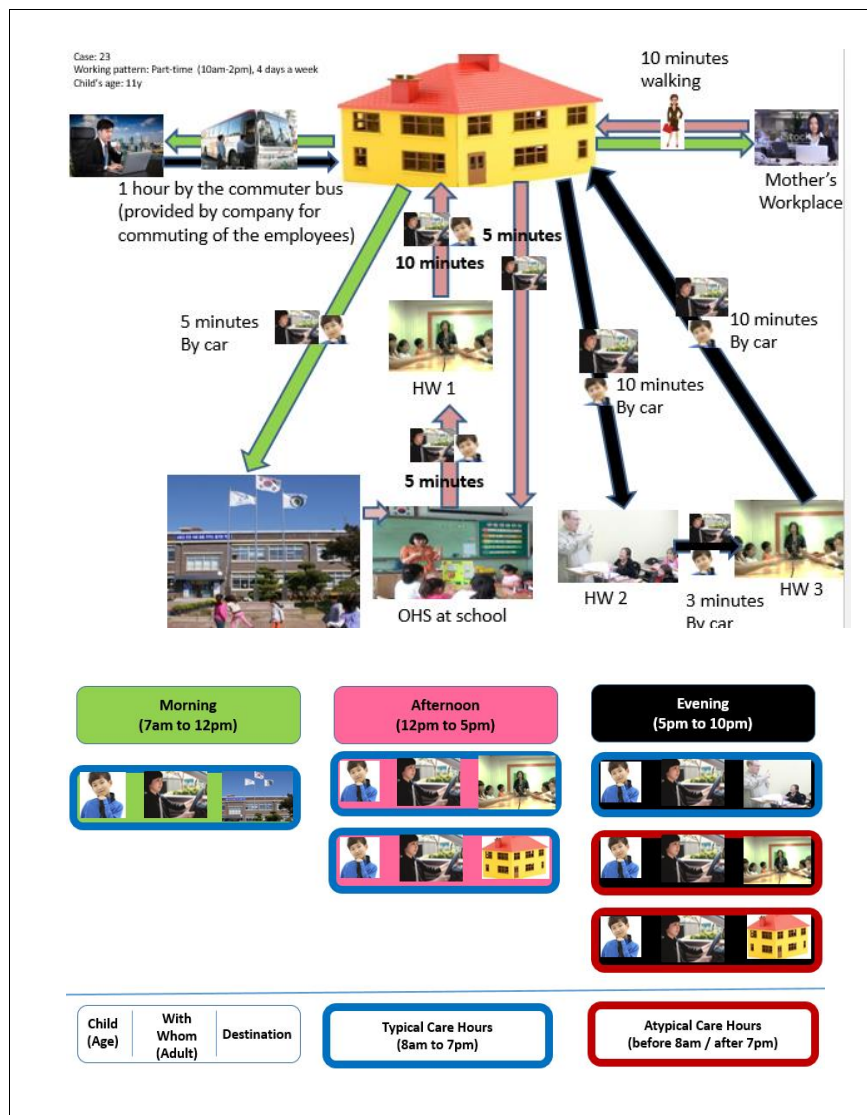
I thought it was not appropriate time for teaching how to write Hangul (Korean letters) yet. However, it turned out that every classmate except for my child (4 years old) was able to write Hangul at least their names. (Full-time worker, children aged 4y and 2y)

Considering social recognitions in general, education has been regarded as the mothers' main responsibility which might be burdensome to many working mothers. Eight mothers made sacrifices for their child's education and five having school children especially showed much more concerns about education than the mothers of preschool children. One mother witnessed her child's learning underachievement could be a crucial reason why many working mothers resign. The mother has paid special attention to her child's learning after starting school. Since their education included not only regular curriculum but also early education or prerequisite learning, it was important to establish mothers' own view of education. Otherwise, mothers might continuously face confusion about which programmes should be arranged for children as two mothers addressed. One of them said,

When he was younger, I had tried to discover his own talents such as music or art, but I couldn't. Now, he is the last year of primary school, so studying was the only way my son has to go like other students. (...) He attends three or four HW in a day and he usually returns to home between 21.00 and 22. 00 with me. According to his schedule, I drive more than ten times to transport him. The thing is, he is not attending so many HW compared to other friends in this town (known as the most affluent district in Seoul, showing extremely high education fever). (Part-time worker, single child aged 11y)

Figure 8.1 illustrates the busy schedules of this child, which seems to be typical case of many Korean students. Apart from the working hours (10.00 to 14.00), the mother obviously had the busiest schedules among the respondents in terms of transporting the child in a day. Every coordination point was entirely managed by the mother, because she drove him everywhere he went. Considering her short working hours, her roles were more likely to assist the child's convenient and safe journeys that always lasted until late evening.

Figure 8.1: Case study ten-The Example of the Feverishness around Education



Meanwhile, four mothers experienced similar situations in differences between childcare and education. Apart from long care hours conducted by informal carers at home, education was the mother's responsibility which was difficult to be replaced by informal carers. In this regard, one mother described the nature of mothering that physically strenuous care simply seems to be related to psychologically arduous education management in a child's growth. This statement also

reflects the social pressures demanding a mother's responsibility for managing her child's educational accomplishment in Korea as crucial elements of good mothering.

Strategies for managing mothering with paid work

Gaining time

Mothers' strategies for time management have been used in most areas surrounding mothers and their families. Above all, key point of strategies seems to try gaining time for mothering as much as possible within the circumstances. For instance, although some mothers changed working time to avoid traffic congestion, they stated that the ultimate aim of the time adjustment was to secure more time for childcare. In order to overcome their time poverty, mothers made efforts for saving time in their workplaces. Four mothers strived to concentrate on finishing work within the official working time, though unexpected overtime could possibly occur. They contended it is crucial to complete their tasks at work. One mother tried to concentrate on her work in a single day even by working until daybreak rather than splitting the works over several days. The mother wanted to minimize her absence from the perspective of the child. After quitting time, one mother tried to efficiently use the long journeys such as online orders for children's requirements or contacting her children's nursery teachers.

In order to maximize time with children at home, three mothers minimized time for housework. Since they had to assume overtime work at their workplace, domestic labour should be a lower priority. For instance, two mothers hired housekeepers to help with house works, and one mother bought most of side dishes from a grocery store, because cooking was the most time-consuming household chore for her. Similarly, one mother postponed most house chores to the weekend because of busy weekdays. Some mothers sometimes could not make childcare time at all due to being late home after finishing overtime. Though children could sleep with their in-home carers, they tried to give maternal affection at least during bed time. Thus, two of them definitely tried to keep sleeping in the same bed with their infants in order to form the secure attachment⁴⁹ with them as a developmental task.

⁴⁹ 'Attachment theory' identified the importance of forming secure attachment in the first three years between a child and caregiver. There are four types of infant-parent attachment: three 'organized' types (secure, avoidant and resistant) and one 'disorganized' type (Bowlby, 1982).

I feel sorry to my youngest child who has been remained secondary, because I always need to focus on the oldest child (who was the disabled child), almost 90 per cent. Therefore, while the oldest child sometimes sleeps with the grandmother or babysitter, the youngest child was always with me every night. At the least, the bed time would be only opportunity to develop attachment relationship with her. (Full-time worker, children aged 5y and 20m).

Five mothers tried to make up for time shortage and poor maternal care by spending meaningful time with children on weekends such as trips, group activities at a welfare centre, culture centre or church. Mothers stressed the importance of family time during the weekend, since fathers also tended to be too busy to look after children on weekdays. Although most mothers could manage the daily lives through supports and cooperation from many people surrounding them, it seems that maximizing maternal time eventually required the mothers' own efforts as the priority among their multiple roles.

Sharing information with mothers

Although available time for seeking information regarding childcare and education should be physically restricted, they were interested in getting information for better mothering. In order to overcome the lack of information caused by time-poverty, several mothers strategically managed personal networks for the purpose of sharing information. In managing personal networks, the relationships included mothers in similar situations. Two mothers have been associated with a group of like-minded working parents who agreed with their own views of education, rejecting excessive private education. Above all, they were able to share similar experiences as a working mother with other members. Since the mothers experienced limitations of rearing children by themselves for about ten years, they placed emphasis on the importance of cooperative care through that community. Another mother had regular meetings with mothers who used a postnatal care centre⁵⁰ at the same time. The greatest advantage of the meeting was that they reared children at the same developmental stage, which was useful for sharing mutual interests. Generally, these kinds of networks do not limit the regions or employment status, since they focus on same interests.

Another form of network was found in the relationships with non-working mothers living in the same town as four mothers mentioned. The relationship was generally regarded as the vital way of sharing education information focusing on better academic results. Non-working mothers generally secured much more information about education than working mothers. Thus, four

⁵⁰ The postnatal care centre is a private health facility for mothers and new born babies in Korea. They generally stay at the centre for about two to four weeks right after childbirth so that they could receive special care from carers and nurses for 24 hours.

mothers actively tried to participate in the meetings. Of these, two part-time working mothers have continued the relationships over the several years regardless of the employment, because they worked a half- day. Meanwhile, two full-time working mothers have experienced difficulties in joining the network. One of them assumed that the main reason for starting a good relationship was from her children's excellent marks and being elected student president. Thus, the mother could have become a welcomed member who could provide useful information. On the other hand, one mother voluntarily helped the other mothers such as computer works instead of them. Full time working mothers who want to keep relations with non-working mothers may need to put in much effort due to the relatively unavailable information on education.

Cases of overcoming time-poverty and lack of information

Since the interviews focused on current life keeping paid work, most interviewees did not experience any serious crisis which could lead to giving up their careers. In the past, two full-time working mothers seriously felt frustration and self-doubt about their life as a working mother. One mother observed her oldest child showing emotional problems because of his insecure attachment with her. She supposed the problem was because of frequently changing carers who raised the child on behalf of an extremely busy mother in his first two years. Finally, she decided to take childcare leave which was not used during his infancy. She explained it was the best alternative to restore the relationship between them. Meanwhile, another problem experienced by a mother was not because the son who did not show visible problems but because she perceived there was something wrong with interactions between them. In order to overcome these inner conflicts, she received counselling and coaching sessions on how to communicate and commend the child. She was satisfied with the programmes consisted of practical advices. After that, the child changed positively by showing more stable psychological state with increased self-confidence. These two cases indicate how they finally succeeded in overcoming their own problems caused by lack of time and information.

Mothers' Policy Suggestions

When asked about policy suggestions, many respondents seemed to feel difficult to answer in comparison to other questions in terms of daily experiences. Policy suggestions concentrated on childcare policies, since they seemed to regard childcare policies as practical solutions that were closely related to their actual life. In particular, most ideas were associated with managing day-nurseries.

Quality of childcare

Day nursery was the most common and useful care provider for meeting demands of the respondents, since it was available for opening long hours with reasonable fee. For better management, three mothers suggested improving treatment of teachers. One mother stressed highly qualified teachers are important to enable mothers to work without worries. For this, she also asserted the importance of increasing transparent management in nurseries by strengthening governmental supervisions.

Installing CCTV at a class room (for investigating teachers) could be merely stopgap measure. Crucially, treating the teachers as professionals should be an urgent task. Government needs to strength the monitoring in how directors manage the nurseries such as accounting audit in order to supervise overtime payment for teachers. (Full-time worker with two children)

Other three mothers indicated it is important to actually operate all-day care and improving quality of all-day care simultaneously. It was because the increase of time and quality might practically help sending their children to the nursery with an easy mind as well as encouraging mothers' labour force participation. However, one mother said it may be asked whether all-day care from one teacher could guarantee high quality care. She proposed shift-work system by arranging more teachers who can work after late afternoon (15.00-16.00) in place of teachers in charge. In general, the mothers seem to assure teachers' qualification and their working conditions could be the most important factor deciding quality of care at the day nursery.

Extending childcare hours

Three mothers stressed weak points of free charge using day nursery, which encouraged many non-working mothers to send children to day nurseries. They pointed out that since working mothers tend to need more care hours than non-working mothers, many day nurseries did not welcome children of working mothers in order to open shorter hours than the official hours (from 7.30 to 19.30). This problem is also related to lack of public day nurseries as two mothers mentioned. They believed that public day nurseries generally keep legal operating hours under the Childcare Act (2015), while operating hours of private day nurseries tend to be at the discretion of nursery directors. As time shortage was the main issue across respondents, many mothers wanted to use childcare at various hours. In caring for preschool children, the expansion of public day nurseries, workplace day nurseries, and i-dolbom services were suggested by six mothers, because they basically covered long and / or atypical care hours. In addition, one mother suggested 24-hour day nursery for back-up care, which could be convenient caring for putting a child at least a few hours at any time of a day.

Increasing supply

Six mothers experienced difficulties (e.g. waiting list) in using services due to many applicants, in particular useful providers including workplace nursery, public nursery, or i-dolbom. Therefore, they suggested the provisions with high demands should expand the services in order to meet the needs. Even though a workplace supplied a workplace day nursery, it was impossible to use it if the workplace was remote from home. Thus, one mother recommended that affiliates of one company establish a strategic alliance to enable employees to apply for a workplace day nursery located within close proximity. Meanwhile, three mothers proposed expanding i-dolbom services for afterschool care, which might be useful for filling a few hours at home before going to HW. At the same time, two mothers proposed expanding care classes at schools. Though the afterschool care at school has noticeably increased, it has focused on sessional education programs. They thus thought primary schools should actively run long-hour based care classes, because they depended on informal childcare such as HW due to limitations of accessing care classes at school.

Flexible working policy

Most mothers indicated that relevant policies already specified various benefits if the articles are carried out in practice. They thought enforcement of existing policies were important and sought urgent action rather than implementing new policies. In terms of policies stating working conditions, seven full-time working mothers suggested the necessity of specific guidelines in increasing availability of current policies. Two mothers pointed out that considerable articles were merely recommendations without expecting actions from employers. Many employers of respondents (in particular, private companies) did not carry out useful policies such as; limitation of daily and weekly working hours, reduction of working hours for childcare, parental leave, or overtime payment, which have been fundamental problems in many organizations. One mother described the obligations to fulfil the policies would be important to prevent many working mothers from leaving labour market, since numerous mothers tend to give up their careers due to lack of consideration by employers and colleagues. Organization culture and colleagues' attitudes could be the hindrance for applying policies. One mother proposed public campaign advertisements to enlighten the problems of prevalent working cultures. The public advertisement would improve the recognition of reasonable working condition for the general public. It would be expected to encourage a flexible working environment, since it was a cultural problem rather than a matter of policies.

Leaves of parents

Some mothers mentioned their own ideas for employees rearing children. One suggested primary school within a same region should decide 'Parent's Open Day' on specific days according to each school year. The mother explained that the Open Day should be arranged so that mothers could be confident in leaving their office to participate in that event. Similarly, another mother required an emergency leave only for parents (such as child's sickness) apart from annual or monthly leave. Since emergency leave is not publicly implemented in Korea, mothers need to take a holiday within available paid leave to care for children. In this context, one mother indicated a prevalent preconception in Korea like 'a competent worker does not tend to use the parental leave system'. She claimed that at least public sectors would need to encourage parental leave to improve the work culture. The mother noted it is important to stipulate a mandatory rule stating government officials in higher positions (e.g. from fifth grade) should use parental leave or have a reduction in working hours. Otherwise, officials in lower positions (from sixth to tenth grade) or employees in private companies might find it more difficult to take the systems now and later. Hopefully, these ideas would contribute to promote the employer-supported childcare for parent-workers.

Conclusion

Chapter Eight identified factual circumstances involving challenges which impacted the lives of working mothers. Mothers' views on the challenges tended to mirror their strong sense of responsibility in coping with dual roles. They managed practical arrangements to minimize challenges. Many mothers obviously perceived overtime as the most influential factor. Most were not able to adjust to organizational demands as if they arranged childcare to fit with working hours. Regarding more flexible factors, mothers could manage commuting challenges in advance such as using the system of selective working time (full-time workers). They sometimes encountered unexpected events requiring back-up care. For back-up care themselves, mothers had to use available holidays or a substitute worker. To increase the durability of the life as a working mother, building and maintaining good relationships with carers seemed to be a critical duty. It was evident that the mother's main concern was how to manage communication with carers. Mothers also carefully took considered reasonable rewards for the carers. As one of the important team members around child, mothers tried to encourage father's participation in childcare for better father-child relationships despite realistic constraints like fathers' long working hours.

As a working mother in Korea, mothers felt Korean society has gradually shown increasing support for them. However, mothering encountered time-poverty involving lack of quality time with children. Mothers sometimes felt guilt due to limited time for mothering compared to non-working mothers. Managing education was also a burdensome task which required a mother's direct involvement. Although working mothers were more likely than non-working mothers to experience lack of time and information, mothers tried to overcome the gaps by managing daily hours and sharing information through personal networks. In terms of policy suggestions, mothers demanded high quality childcare and various options for covering desired hours. Regarding their working environment, most mothers hoped the enforcement of current policies and employer-supported assistances, which have been structurally limited due to an inflexible workplace culture. They also suggested ideas for workers responsible for childcare such as public advertisement, an emergency leave, and enforcing mandatory regulations especially for public areas.

Chapter Nine Discussion of Findings

Introduction

Chapter nine aims to discuss main findings provided in the previous three chapters. This thesis aimed to understand everyday experiences of working mothers in Korea, and it sets out to answer the main research question of ‘how do working mothers with young children manage work and childcare?’. The term ‘manage’ indicated all the processes from arranging childcare to managing the selected childcare in line with work commitments. The research aims were matched with the ontological properties of qualitative research methods, and alongside the literature review, provided useful ideas for constructing the analytical framework (see chapter five). Above all, qualitative studies were needed to fill the research gaps not only in terms of a lack of qualitative studies in Korea but also in regards to a lack of diversity for research topics.

The analytical framework included seven themes and each theme included one or two research questions (in total there were ten sub research questions). The seven themes were as follows; arranging childcare, coordinating childcare with paid work, the team around the child, time management, good mothering, gender equality, and policy implications. This framework continued without many changes through the research process, from sampling to data analysis. The last theme ‘policy implications’ will be discussed in the final chapter and the other themes were described in chapters six, seven, and eight. Chapter six dealt with arranging childcare on a regular basis and it revealed the processes of the arrangements as preparations for starting or continuing in paid work. Chapter seven considered the second theme ‘coordinating childcare with paid work’ in terms of how the selected childcare was matched with mothers’ working hours and the daily travel arrangements required to take children to and from the home to childcare/education and parents to and from work. Chapter eight examined the challenges and strategies for minimizing the challenges of managing work and childcare and childrearing in the long term perspective. It also described mothers’ policy suggestions reflecting challenges in relation to current policies.

Overall, working mothers’ management of their working and daily life required assistance from multiple caregivers, transportation and policy support. It also involved them adapting their own resources and strategies in order to successfully combine childcare with paid work. The next two sections will concentrate on how they used their strategies. Section 9.1 will consider practical arrangements and section 9.2 will examine more hidden strategies used by mothers within family and workplace. Based on the strategies examined in the two sections, section 9.3 will focus on unique strategies found in Korean cases which can make contributions to the current literature.

9.1 Making Practical Arrangements (visible strategies)

The main characteristic of all of the mothers was that they were responsible for a wide range of arrangements for managing daily family practices. This section thus will focus on practical arrangements which involved temporal, spatial and living arrangements. These arrangements were practically useful strategies managed by mothers, which were more likely to be visible solutions rather than hidden strategies (e.g. keeping good relationship with grandmother).

Multiple childcare arrangements

In order to start paid work, arranging for quality childcare was primarily the mother's responsibility. The quality of care was the most important element which involved actions such as visiting a nursery unless a mother was in a hurry to make arrangements. While previous quantitative studies focused on which factors were influential in choosing childcare, this study identified preparatory process of choosing childcare.

In terms of arranging regular childcare, there were general patterns of arranging childcare, for instance, combining formal with informal childcare for full-time work. When formal and informal care were combined, the most common was to have a day nursery with grandmother. This multiple arrangement seemed to be useful for full-time work, while the majority of part-time workers used formal childcare without informal childcare. Depending on informal care was a practical choice not only for high reliability (e.g. arranging grandmother-only care for infants) but also for covering long and atypical working hours.

Managing childcare and work arrangements

It was important for arranging childcare to be available during the mother's working hours. Given that ten out of twenty-three respondents combined formal and informal childcare, it is difficult to ascertain which one was a key support. Nevertheless, this part will discuss which type of care was more influential in daily practices. First of all, the amount of regular care hours is notable in order to explore whether those care providers could cover enough hours. For preschool-age children, formal was either a half-day or all-day (usually 7.30 to 19.30), though the respondents with infants preferred in-home care. Yet, mothers tended to use fewer hours when in-home carer (mostly, grandmother) was available or when children were tired. In contrast, for school-age children, formal childcare at/outside schools provided a lack of supply and/ or a lack of care hours, which resulted in dependence on informal care and private education. Thus, some mothers informally resolved these problems by negotiating with teachers at HW (for longer care) or joining an informal care class established by other parents. In addition, all back-up childcare which was

arranged for emergency situations was provided by informal carers, most of whom were family members.

Despite the long opening hours at preschool institutions, working mothers needed wraparound care outside typical working/formal care times; this care was usually provided by informal carers at home. Wraparound care could fully cover the long working hours of mothers which were the result of numerous factors. For instance, the Confucian workplace culture in which overtime is common and employees are expected to be fully flexible and respond to the needs of the employer first before their family. Some mothers had long commutes to the workplace. Working fathers were also wrapped up in Confucian workplace cultures and were working long hours making it difficult for them to support childcare arrangements.

Chapter seven discovered that there are two types of wrap-around carers according to whether or not they were available for 24-hour home care. The round-the clock carers included grandmothers and live-in babysitters. Other carers at institutions included home-based day nursery, morning class at primary school, workplace day nursery and HW. According to the nine cases selected in chapter seven, longer working hours increased the need for help from wraparound care providers. For instance, while every full-time worker arranged wraparound care, only one part-time worker used it. Grandmothers were always available for 24 hours a child rotating between two grandmothers (case 3), an extended family living with grandmother (case 4), and a grandmother living with the family on weekdays (case 5). These cases showed unique living arrangements in Korea in order to receive care that could accommodate the mother's inflexible work schedule.

In the two other cases, children received morning care at school (case 6) and in a home-based nursery (case 7). These providers made it possible for parents to be at work early in the morning. Of these, the home-based nursery also provided a pivotal point among care places at flexible times. Children used the home nursery before and after attending other facilities. The mother called it a 'central-axis' like a family's home. The focal point at the home-based nursery allowed the children to travel unsupervised to other care places, though they took shuttle buses under the supervision of a teacher. Meanwhile, HW and workplace nurseries stayed open late (9-10pm) to accommodate mothers' extended workdays. Whilst workplace nurseries offered night care for employees who had to work overtime (case 6), using HW until late evening was informally agreed upon between teacher and mother (case 2) to cover the mother's unexpected overtime. These cases thus reflected the culture of long working hours in Korea and the necessity of institutional care being available in the evening and at night.

However, as illustrated in the comparison of four cases in chapter 7 (see figure 7.1), having longer working hours did not necessarily involve complex childcare arrangements and nor was the opposite always true, having part-time work did not always mean there were simpler care arrangements. Rather, what was most important with regards to complexity or simplicity of childcare arrangements was the way the mothers' working hours matched or did not match with formal childcare or school hours. Such that if they worked shifts, or worked long hours, or worked part-time hours into the evenings, or worked overtime hours into the evenings they required some kind of flexible wrap-around care in order to meet their working time commitments. This requirement naturally impacted whole family's life.

Family adjustments

Involve many family members for childcare showed the form of 'team around the child'. Especially, some family members had to change their living arrangements so that the children could receive wrap-around care as discussed earlier. Most wraparound caregivers were grandmothers who either lived with the family or lived nearby. But whilst in some respondent's households, the grandparents lived with them full-time and could be considered as three-generation families, other respondents were required to make additional adjustments regarding the residence status of family members in order for the working parents to be able to combine work and caring successfully. For example, by sending the child to live at the grandmother's house, or the grandmother coming to live with the family during the week on working days.

Other adjustments of residency included the father living elsewhere during the week away from the family, whilst the mother and children lived closer to her workplace and/or to the homes of grandparents. Where fathers lived elsewhere for at least part of the week, this was called a 'commuting family'. An example of one such family's arrangements was illustrated in figure 7.2 (case 5 in chapter seven). This case showed how much simpler the family's childcare arrangements could become when the mother and children lived close to the mothers' workplace and there was live-in grandparental support. In another case, the child lived elsewhere on the mother's working day due to the mother's atypical and flexible working times (shift work). Some mothers arranged live-in babysitters who provided similar care as grandmothers in terms of availability of wraparound care. These cases demonstrated how combining childcare and work arrangements impacted on the whole family's life and how the caregivers supported not only childcare but also transporting children to and from different care providers.

Managing daily journeys and time

Empirical findings of qualitative studies guided by a theoretical framework need to reveal how a concept was formulated from interpreting one's own data rather than testing the theory

(Lunenburg and Irby 2008). As discussed in chapter five, this thesis used Skinner's framework (2003) which investigated the experiences of mothers in England. The framework was adopted here and was useful for looking at not only current daily practices but also social and cultural practices which were evident in the descriptions of the daily journeys in the five case study illustrations in the figures in chapter 7. These pictures illustrate who was actually involved in providing childcare but also involved in transporting children to and from different childcare, education and out of school care settings. Crucially, the pictures also describe the limitations in formal childcare provision and the high dependence on family and informal carers.

Since formal institutions provided fixed forms of childcare at set hours, connecting up childcare places on a daily basis was mainly done by families or by informal care providers using shuttle buses. Shuttle buses played a very important role for the seamless transportation of children from one care setting to another. For example, as shown in Figure 7.4 (case study seven in chapter seven), this family with two children relied on three separate shuttle buses in a typical day to take children to and from the home-based day nursery and either nursery School or after school classes held at school and to the HW.

In terms of managing time for daily journeys, the time-saving strategies were similar between full-time and part-time workers, because many full-time workers had already arranged for caregivers to accompany children instead of the parents. The mothers tried to save time and decrease complexity of daily journeys by using various strategies such as:

- arranging childcare within walking distance of the home or the workplace
- moving house to be nearer the workplace and childcare settings
- having working-hour arrangements (such as part-time work) which means the mothers' can take children to and from school or childcare by themselves
- using convenient and fast transport (e.g. a taxi) to reduce the time that various journeys take
- parents' adjusting their working hours so they can avoid traffic congestion at peak times
- arranging the children's daily journeys so that they can take place simultaneously with the parents' journeys to and from work, or to take place whilst parents were at work (for example, children walking alone to and from school alone and/or using shuttle buses to transport children across different care settings)
- sharing the job of transporting children where each parent takes responsibility for transporting only one of the children in the family

As can be seen, some of these time savings strategies were also spatial strategies involving ways to more effectively manage location, distance and transport mode. Safety was also a concern,

especially for children travelling by themselves as in Korea, children are allowed to travel unaccompanied by an adult. Thus, shuttle buses allowed them to travel safely, similar to an English childminder who takes a child to and from school to her home.

The empirical evidence in this thesis has thus highlighted a very broad range of spatial-temporal strategies that working mothers engaged in to enable them to successfully combine paid work with childcare. Some of these strategies would have to be in place at the starting point of mothers entering paid work or in place when returning to work after parental leave. The analysis has referred to these as 'visible strategies' because they are the real practical arrangements that parents had to make. It is clear however from this analysis, that these strategies involve much more than just finding formal or informal childcare for children and this has important policy implications which will be discussed in chapter ten. The analysis also shows working mothers had to engage in less visible strategies which involved maintaining of good relationships with family caregivers and formal caregivers.

9.2 Managing Relationships (invisible strategies)

A key finding was that some mothers faced challenges with maintaining good relationships with care providers, family members, and workplace colleagues regardless of the careful practical arrangements described in section 9.1. Mothers handled these in a variety of ways and it was important to avoid conflict in relationships.

Avoiding conflicts

Noticeably, it seemed that in order to avoid conflict, mothers felt obliged to be deferential, as if they were in the subordinate position even when they were an employer hiring a babysitter, a customer using formal childcare service, a highly-paid professional in the managerial position, or an employed wife in the dual-earner couple. Valuing careful attitudes seem to be largely because of working environments that are not supportive of parents. The workplace was the least friendly environment for working parents. They thus compensated for a poor understanding about their childcare responsibilities by arranging wraparound daily care, back-up care for special occasions, taking leave on annual holidays, and sometimes asking to leave work early. Nonetheless, some mothers were able to change their own working situations as long as their organizations permitted it; such as changing commuting hours (according to selective work-hour system), negotiations with a colleague for reducing volume of business, using transfer of personnel for working in a childcare-friendly department. They explained that these were the strategies for better mothering in combination with continuing in their careers as a working mother.

Fathers' involvement was reported by the mothers as being low not only in care support but also in transporting children. The Fathers' work schedules in Confucian working culture created an unequal division in childcare responsibility, all but two of whom were working longer than mothers. Another reason was related to living arrangement such as commuting couples or both parents living separately from the child. Thereby, most mothers excused fathers' limited involvement in childcare, because they understood the situations of their husbands. However, they had their own strategies for encouraging their husbands to spend more time on parenting, if only for the sake of the father-child relationship rather than sharing childcare between parents. For instance, mothers assigned small roles in childcare to fathers or they managed the holiday schedules of fathers to increase their paternal time. It appears that mothers tried to avoid conflicts with husbands, which might be one of the reasons for their emotional burden like feeling guilty.

The limited support from employers and fathers naturally increased mothers' dependence on multiple non-parental caregivers. Most mothers thus put stress on collaboration among carers and they strived to maintain consistent care. One mother depicted her 'mediation role' as the liaison between the two grandmothers who were taking care of her child. She tried to minimize the child's confusion about the differences in the way that the two grandmothers provided care. For instance, it was important to be consistent about eating habits and being allowed to watch cartoons. Regardless of the number of care hours that children spent with grandmothers, mothers still felt responsible for communicating with teachers at institutions. Mothers of preschool-age children seemed to emphasize teamwork through active communication with providers. Importantly, mothers tended to avoid making complaints about teachers or institutions considering high dependence, which was called the 'unwritten law' among working mothers. Also, there was some evidence to show that the mothers had to smooth over any difficulties that might have occurred in communications between grandmother carers and the formal providers.

Non-family caregivers were described as an 'unknown world' due to the unfamiliar relationships before experiencing them. In most cases, finding high-quality formal childcare was much more complex than arranging for informal childcare, considering factors such as having to be on a waiting list when there was no public⁵¹ day nursery. However, once formal care is arranged, it can be reliable and stay in place for a long time. For example, one mother has used the same day nursery for more than eight years. She explained how she developed close relationships with the nursery director who provides informal care as well if necessary. Formal care could be easily maintained as long as mothers wanted to keep using that nursery. In contrast, many mothers

⁵¹ Public nursery account for 6 per cent of all day nurseries (Ministry of Health and Welfare, 2016).

worried about whether the grandmothers would keep providing childcare. The more the mothers wanted to keep their job, the more they wanted to keep good relationships with grandmothers.

For this reason, grandmothers were extremely important because of their availability for wraparound and reliable care. One working mother even considered changing from full-time to part-time status in her company when the grandmother became ill and she felt she could not trust her child to a private babysitter. Above all, a babysitter would be twice as expensive as the grandmother especially for wraparound care (Yoo, HJ et al., 2014). Key strategies to help keep good relationships with grandmothers included giving financial rewards and respecting the nurturing ways of grandmothers. The other strategies were to use respectful language, to be willing to talk and listen to the grandmothers providing social support for them, for mothers to keep their opinions to themselves, to divide up the details of care between them, not to take their care for granted, and to treat the friends of grandmothers to dinner. Regarding the financial rewards, it is worth mentioning the payment for grandmother care represents the symbolic meaning for unilateral dependence on grandmother (Lee, JR 2010; Lee, YJ et al 2015).

Most Korean grandmothers were paid to look after their grandchildren (especially full-time care). Regardless of whether they are paid market prices or slightly less, the salary was discussed in advance. Although grandparents everywhere seem to take care of grandchildren (Lee and Bauer 2013), paid and full-time (or exclusive) grandmother care was rarely reported in western literature (Craig and Jenkins 2016; Posadas and Vidal-Fernández, 2013). Therefore, the payment would reflect the reality of Korean working mothers who need help from grandmothers due to a more challenging working environment for childrearing than those in other countries (see chapter two). Though the payment for the grandmother's salary was made within the home economy, mothers tended to use their own money for additional rewards (e.g. pocket money, arranging tours for grandparents). These strategies for managing relationships were also an important parts of mothering, given that mothers ultimately had to manage all areas of childcare irrespective of care hours provided by paid caregivers.

In terms of formal childcare, there were uniquely formal ways of communication in Korea. Most mothers with preschool children frequently contacted their teachers about caregiving. They communicated by telephone, mobile app or by sending notes in a child's diary. Most teachers took care of children for at least half a day; there was also a teacher on the shuttle bus who sent messages from the mother to teacher in charge. On the other hand, school-aged children tended to receive short-time childcare and the communication was one-way. Given the importance of academic achievement, private learning centres (HW) offered systematic management through the parents' consultant or website.

Communication with teachers was less likely to involve the same strategies that communication with informal carers did, because the relationships were much more formal than with informal caregivers. Nonetheless, mothers tried to keep good relationships with teachers by following the unwritten laws, bridging consistent care between home and institution, contacting the director for better communication, maintaining active communication if there was a problem, remaining objective about their child and trying to build and keep trust. These careful attitudes were related to the great dependence on institutional care like grandmother care due to time constraints.

Time with children

Given the long working hours of many respondents, most challenges pertained to time constraints, and most strategies were ultimately efforts to secure more maternal time with children. The mothers tried to invest their remaining free hours in mothering. Most mothers were strongly influenced by Confucian culture in the workplace setting and in traditional ideas of motherhood. Noticeably, when they were asked about strategies as employees or mothers, many of their statements mentioned 'I am working very hard like a worker without a child due to non-childcare friendly environment' and 'trying my best like non-working mothers due to feeling guilty'. Rather than time-shortage itself, the working culture created the problem of a lack of time with child, which resulted in mothers' feeling guilty. Mothers thus tried to compensate for this at weekends by family's trip (e.g. amusement park), participation in group activities at welfare centre, culture centre or church.

9.3 Korean mothers' strategies distinguished from cases in other countries.

Based on the strategies found in this study, this part will discuss how the Korean cases are similar to and different from Skinner's findings (2003) which provided a conceptual basis for the analytical framework in this study. It will also discuss how this study contributed to the literature used in the analytical framework. There are two kinds of strategies: unique strategies found in Korea and strategies found in policy context in Korea. The former will present micro views related to daily experiences and the latter will show policy context in a macro perspective.

Unique strategies found in Korean cases

Regarding strategies for managing daily practices, Some Korean children take shuttle buses and travel alone, but English children do not. The shuttle buses (called 'school buses' under the Road Traffic Act) are classified into the vehicles for the business uses (private transportation) in the name of directors according to the Act on the Passenger Transport Service (2015). Shuttle buses seemed to be useful for seamless services connecting coordination points as if an English childminder takes a child from school to her home. In Korea, children are allowed to travel

unaccompanied by an adult, and many school-age children of respondents travelled by themselves. Shuttle bus allows children to travel safely by themselves. Thus, it is important to examine how children travelling alone could be supervised. Regarding care providers, neighbours sharing one full-time nanny was a common type of informal carers in England. Though it is difficult to generalise this due to the small sample, Korean mothers were more likely to depend on paid grandmother care and some mothers received back-up care from their neighbours.

In terms of managing daily journeys (Skinner, 2003), mothers in both countries tried to save time by spatial and temporal arrangements in close proximity; such as having childcare within walking distance, working-hour arrangements (part-time work in Korea), working flexitime (in England), using convenient and fast transport (a bike in England), arranging simultaneous journeys (including child's independent journey in Korea), avoiding traffic congestion (more common in Korea), reducing the number of trips and sharing roles between parents (more common in England). At the same time, the number and age of children and the age differences between siblings increased the complexity of part-time workers in England and full-time workers in Korea. Regarding care providers helping the journeys there seem to be similarities between childminders in England and home-based care in Korea in terms of professional care at home-based place. However, it is different from childminder in that nursery teachers do not offer individual care such as taking a child to and from care places, making them more rigid than childminders. Case study 7 showed the example of using home-based nursery which can compare the use of a childminder in terms of pivotal point among care places at flexible times. This usage was informally decided in consultation with the nursery director, since it is not commonplace in preschool institutions. These strategies are indicative of the limited public support for working mothers in Korea.

Strategies in Korean policy context

Mothers' strategies tended to reflect policy context of their country. On the one hand, English mothers had ideas on how to increase fathers' participation and how to share their responsibilities with partners (Skinner, 2003). On the other hand, the majority of Korean mothers merely made plans for better fathering without trying to share the caring roles given busy working schedules of fathers. In a similar vein, except for one mother who cut her hours to part-time to accommodate childcare, most Korean mothers could not adjust their working hours as English mothers could. Yet, some mothers changed their commuting hours according to selective work-hour system, as long as their organizations permitted it. Long working hours involving overtime seem to be typical, interrupting parents' direct involvement in childcare, which was more unusual in England. Therefore, many Korean full-time mothers entrusted transporting and childcare to other carers especially outside of business hours, which involved wraparound care providers.

The idea of 'wraparound care' found in this study made contribution to the literature (Statham and Mooney, 2003) which investigated using childcare services at atypical times for covering atypical working hours. In Korean cases, care at atypical times was generally required due to long and unpredictable working hours rather than covering part-time work at atypical times. Long care hours naturally involved a number of caregivers who were named 'team around the child' by Siraj-Blatchford et al. (2007). While Siraj-Blatchford et al. (2007) dealt with much broader scope of team members from carers to policy makers impacting child's growth, this study found how the team members shared childcare, focusing on managing daily care and managing relationships by mothers. The responsibilities showed the importance of hidden jobs that Korean working mothers had to engage in which involved managing all these relationships in the 'team around the child' within the confines of a Korean Confucian work culture that does not value the care work that parents do.

In this way, Korean cases concentrated on managing non-parental care because of the workplace culture, which was quite different from that of western cases where parents alternated childcare (Forsberg, 2009), or where there was de-synchronization of parents' schedules (Carriero et al., 2009). The cases showed daily challenges such as time constraints or women thinking that they were not good mothers. The results added to the knowledge of 'gendered moral rationality' (Duncan and Edwards, 1999), meaning that mothers' feeling of responsibility for children's well-being could be a higher priority than income. In Korea, academic achievement was a socially constructed rationality perceived by mothers. These burdens on the mothers generated new knowledge of emotional work (Erickson 2005) whose policy implications will be discussed in the next chapter.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed how Korean working mothers strategically managed everyday experiences, focusing on practical solutions and hidden strategies. In order to manage childcare with work commitments, they tended to arrange multiple care providers who could cover typical /atypical hours and transport child. Between childcare hours and paid work hours, at least one of those types of hours had to be unburdened, which involved temporal, spatial, and residence strategies. However, given the not-childcare friendly working environment of parents without enough policy supports, it was difficult for the mothers in this study to adjust their working hours to meet their childcare and family needs.

Getting the right kind of childcare support was a main resource enabling them to stay at work. In particular, live-in helps from grandmothers or baby sitters were important flexible care providers

to continue paid work especially for commuting families. That is, mothers tended to maximize practical and available resources while minimizing challenges. Most importantly however, making suitable childcare arrangements was only part of the story that explained how working mothers continued to stay in their employment. The hidden strategies seemed to be just as important for overcoming the challenges of combining work, childcare and family life in the Korean context of the city of Seoul. Mothers seemed to feel obliged to show careful and deferential attitudes towards caregivers irrespective of their payment or their status. Mothers were particularly concerned about managing to keep good relationships with caregivers and giving rewards. The careful attitudes were also found in relation to the gendered childcare division with husbands in which they were generally excused from taking on any of this responsibility. The mothers tended to merely make plans for supporting time for fathering without trying to share the caring roles given the apparent busy working schedules of fathers. Mothers also had their own strategies for increasing maternal time and decreasing their feelings of guilt despite limited supports from workplace and husbands.

This thesis aimed to look at how working mothers succeeded in managing childcare and paid work. The analysis has exposed the practical arrangements but also the hidden strategies they had to use to stay in work and avoid taking a career-break. Yet, the mothers themselves did not seem to recognise the strategies they used or perhaps their importance to maintaining their employment, with many respondents saying they felt 'extremely lucky', 'timely', a 'special case' or a 'rare case'. It suggests the importance of increasing policy supports for improving not only childcare provisions but also the working environments and parental leave policies which will be discussed in the next chapter. However, the analysis also shows the scale of the policy challenge in terms of tackling the gendered cultural values associated with Confucianism that are embedded in intimate family relationships, parental roles, intergenerational obligations and also labour market relations. The mothers here managed to steer a path through these cultural and practical obstacles to stay in employment.

In conclusion, these findings extend the qualitative literature on working mothers by describing the uniqueness of the Korean case. Mothers' challenges and strategies reflected not only their daily experiences but also Korea's policy context. The Korean cases presented culturally and socially different practices from those that are presented in the Western literature.

Chapter Ten Conclusion

This thesis sets out to understand how working mothers in Korea succeeded in combining work and childcare to enable them to stay in employment. Much of the research in Korea has focused on understanding the challenges faced by mothers that act as barriers to their continued labour market participation. Consequently, the inadequacies of quality formal childcare provision as a primary cause of giving up work have been well documented usually in quantitative surveys. Policy makers thus have been active in tackling this issue with new legislation tackling quality and levels of childcare provision.

This thesis however looked in the opposite direction, not at the experiences or reasons for mothers giving up work, but the experiences of mothers who apparently were successful in maintaining their employment alongside their caring roles and responsibilities as mothers. This is the unique focus of this study as little is known about Korean working mothers' everyday experiences of staying in work, or about the strategies they used to manage their work and care responsibilities and family relationships. For this, a study from a qualitative in-depth study was suitable not only for filling the research gaps of qualitative studies but also for looking at people's experiences and listening their voices for the purpose of understanding their lives in detail (Flick 2006; Mason 2002). This approach was also expected to find gaps between policy statements and real life situations so that it could address policy implications. Thus, this thesis adopted a qualitative methodology to answer the key research questions.

The main research question is 'how do Korean working mothers with young children manage work and childcare?' and it includes ten sub-questions. The main ones are as follows; 'what types of childcare do they arrange on a regular basis?', 'How do their working hours affect their ability to successfully coordinate childcare and work activities?', 'What strategies have they used to enable effective coordination?', 'Do they get any help with managing care and work?', 'What strategies have they used to manage good mothering?'. The data analysis to answering these questions provided a unique insight into the ways in which Korean mothers with dependent children were able to integrate childcare obligations and work commitments in the Confucian context. New research knowledge was related to understanding mothers' strategies for overcoming daily difficulties adding to the existing literature (previously mostly, quantitative knowledge) in this research field.

10.1 Main findings

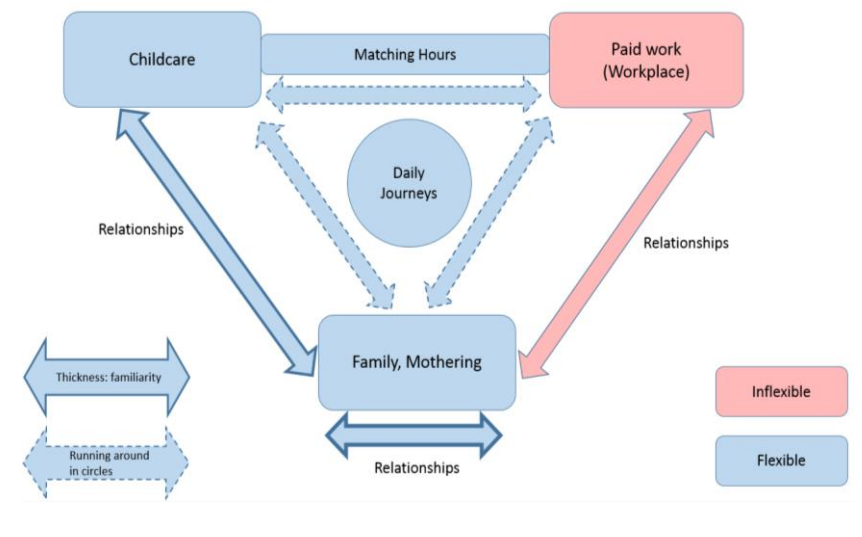
Making practical arrangements

The results from in-depth interviews with 23 working mothers show that a key strategy to maintaining employment was having to make multiple arrangements by combining formal and informal childcare, but with a heavy reliance on informal childcare. This reliance on informal care however was much more complex than it first appeared. Whilst it provided flexibility to allow mothers to match working hours with childcare needs, it was also vital in helping to tackle many temporal and spatial dimensions involved in the everyday management of childcare and work. For example, figure 10.1 illustrates the main findings which describes two types of structural arrangements: flexible or inflexible.

The figure briefly illustrates working mothers' various responsibilities and strategies. First of all, they had to arrange quality childcare before starting work and the everyday experiences of managing the practical arrangements including daily journeys to and from work and care settings as well as matching childcare with working hours. Since workplace relations including working hours were culturally inflexible, care hours had to be flexible. The square in figure 10.1 located between childcare and paid work indicates the matching of those two types of hours. Given the inflexibility at work, most mothers needed to fit childcare hours with fixed working hours except for several part-time workers who looked for jobs after arranging childcare. Full-time working mothers also necessarily arranged wraparound care covering outside of typical working in order to cover regular/ irregular (e.g. overtime) working time and commuting times. For this, many mothers depended on informal care at home due to a lack of formal provisions covering enough hours. Some cases thus required making different living arrangements for family members in order to make arrangements for giving and receiving wraparound care and/or supporting commuting families, where the parents lived apart during the working week.

In terms of spatial dimensions, mothers had to match up places of formal childcare and school provision. As shown in figure 10.1, the dotted arrows surrounding the circle in the centre depict daily journeys across all those places in a day. For making the journeys, mothers carefully considered parents' working hours and the position of the mother's workplace relative to the family home. The journeys were managed by informal carers, families, shuttle buses, and children (without adult supervision). The main spatial strategies were to arrange transport and shuttle bus especially for children travelling alone. The journeys were strategically designed to save time; for instance, by dividing responsibility between both parents having them transport several different children in the family at the same time.

Figure 10.1 Summary of the main findings: How do Korean working mothers with young children manage childcare with paid work?



The changes in some family members living arrangements were also an important practical strategy for some families. Most daily challenges were relevant to time constraints which mainly came from the inflexible workplaces of parents. However, those difficulties were non-negotiable with employers within the Confucian context. Therefore, the respondents were able to succeed in managing childcare with paid work, because they could receive enough supports from families and care providers. It is notable that the respondents were relatively middle class and professionals who could mobilise many family resources including the changes in residency arrangements. Grandmother care was directly and especially related to family income. Twelve out of twenty-three respondents depended on grandmother care. Most were middle (5 out of 12) or high-income families (5 out of 12). Though two families were low income, they received financial support from their parents. In this way, since non-parental care providers spent long hours taking care of children, mothers had to protect their relationships with those caregivers and this was another important new finding from this thesis.

Managing relationships

The team around the child

Mothers received help with care responsibilities from non-parental care providers who could cover working and/or commuting times. Most cases involved multiple carers which I named “the team around the child” in this study. The team members consisted of parents, regular care providers, and back-up caregivers for emergencies. Mothers were responsible for building and managing the relationships with the team. As shown in figure 10.1, the team covers two kinds of relationships: family members (mostly grandmothers), and non-family carers such as teachers or babysitters. Of course, family carers were much more familiar with the mothers than others; the arrows are therefore thicker. Mothers kept close relationships with the team in order to share considerable parts of mothering. For this, mothers carefully managed communication between and among carers and offered suitable rewards. These rewards included payment for grandmother care, especially for full-time and exclusive care. The most important strategy for mothers was to be deferential and avoid conflicts. These efforts were required in relationships with informal carers, since formal childcare was on a more contractual basis and could be maintained as long as mothers wanted to use it. Regarding team members, it is noticeable that fathers were included as a team but workplaces were not.

Family and work relationships

The arrow in the figure presents the least familiar relationship between workplace and family (mothers), because most workplaces rarely provided practical support for childcare; what support there was formal, such as the application for a paid holiday. Likewise, mothers were also deferential in the workplace because of its non-supportive atmosphere for childcare, workplace conflict, prejudice and no respect for family life. Therefore, they had to make sure to have flexible childcare arrangements for unplanned overtime and/or similar events. This situation also applied to husbands’ work commitments; most fathers worked longer than mothers. The majority of mothers thus gave up sharing childcare with husbands on workdays. Instead, mothers helped fathers build relationships with their children on weekends. Though this study focused on mothers’ practical experiences, the findings indicate that it would be difficult for mothers to escape gender issues in family practices and workplace culture. All of those adjustments to the workplace and to employer’s needs, and the management of multiple childcare arrangements had a negative effect on mothers, making them feel guilty for not having more time for their children. Trying to increase maternal time was thereby crucial responsibility for mothering. In this respect, a second important part of the figure that managing the relationships took mothers’ time, energy, and effort, which Erickson (2005) describes as ‘emotion work’. Likewise, the respondents also

struggled to maintain good and collaborative relationships with care providers and families in order to overcome insufficient supports from workplace, husbands and policy.

In sum, mothers used a broad set of strategies to manage work-family life and solve the following problems:

- Inflexible workplace – with non-negotiable terms and conditions of employment.
- Confucian gendered ideology – the workplace is king, the families (mainly women) have to adjust to the needs of employers. There seemed to be no other way around.
- Time constraints for mothering and family life are not respected.
- Emotion work: mothers feel guilty as a mother and carry a burden for managing relations due to time constraints and a lack of support from employers and husbands.

In order to reduce the challenges caused by limited support from their surroundings, using personal strategies tended to involve maximizing individual (or family) resources. The strategies included; making practical arrangements (visible) and managing relationships (invisible).

- Arranging flexible childcare involving multiple/wraparound childcare for irregular hours.
- Practical arrangements involving spatial, temporal, family's residence arrangements.
- Deferential attitudes in managing all the relationships regardless of payment or occupational positions (in particular, with grandmothers) in order to avoid conflicts and consider reliance.
- Payment for grandmother care especially for full-time and exclusive care.
- Adjusting workload or commuting times if permitted.
- Taking full responsibility for childrearing though they were employed just as fathers were.
- Trying to increase time with child; maternal time (mostly), paternal time, and family time.

Those findings about these everyday experiences of working mothers raise important policy implications for their lives.

10.2 Policy Implications

This study suggests important questions for policy makers to find ways to solve the problems around the tasks of 'matching working hours to childcare'; to managing the 'team around the child' in practical terms, and 'emotional work'.

Childcare

In terms of policy approaches for supporting childcare, the main thrust of childcare policies was improving fertility rates as well as female employment rates⁵². Extending public support is essentially required for unburdening parental childcare responsibilities (Esping-Anderson 2009), which has been crucially regarded, for the attainment of the dual aim since 2004 (Baek, EY 2012). Despite policy revisions, female employment rate (55.7%) is still lower than OECD average (58.6%) (OECD, 2016a) and fertility rate is the lowest (1.19) among OECD countries (OECD, 2016b). In particular, taking career-break in women's thirties due to childbirth and childrearing has been continued. Childcare obligations are main challenges faced by working mothers, which should be solved in order for them to participate in the labour market. However, this study confirms that childcare still needs improving.

The qualitative findings add to the new quantitative analysis of administrative data about childcare in chapter 3. A large body of quantitative research has investigated childcare in terms of provision (in) adequacy, quantity and quality. The major problem with childcare provision was the limited supply of public institutions and i-dolbom service despite good quality and availability of flexible hours (i-dolbom) (Kim, Lee, and Choi, 2014; Yoo, Bae, and Kim, 2014; Yoo, H. J. et. al., 2014), which was also experienced by the respondents. The unique finding of this study was that the great need for arranging multiple care and particularly flexible wraparound-care for extended working hours as these have to match the mothers' inflexible and fixed work schedules. For this, arranging informal childcare was necessarily required, since arranging fixed form of formal childcare was not quite enough on its own to cover the working hours. That is, 'time management' was the major issue associated with strategies as well as challenges in their daily practices. In this regard, mothers who want to stay in employment would need wider range of formal childcare especially for extending and diversifying service hours given the workplace culture.

Workplace culture

Findings about workplace culture presented policy implications in terms of dealing with inflexible conditions, gendered Confucian values and workplace prejudices. Most strategies reported by the

⁵² The rates were discussed in detail in chapter one and two, and these were briefly mentioned in here in order to remind the policy context.

respondents pertained to the management of childcare in an inflexible working environment. The source of the inflexibility was long and unpredictable working hours. Policy makers should try to create more flexible terms and conditions for employees in order to help them make working hours more flexible. More importantly, reducing working hours should be a priority, because it was the main cause of time-shortage for childrearing. For working mothers, the length of the workday was much more influential factor than the length of the work week (Yoon and Im 2014), which should be examined in depth in order to provide benefits of working time. For this, it is vital to enforce existing labour policies as many scholars (in chapter 2) and respondents (in chapter 8) have pointed out. Otherwise, only women who can arrange wraparound carers will be able to continue working outside of the home, which mainly involved family adjustments in particular grandmother care. Policy makers should examine how far policies would be practical within the context and this study revealed mothers' high dependence on family resources for staying in paid work. The findings also suggested the need for a gender equality focus for policy, because Confucian tradition was still strongly remained in the workplace culture and gendered division of childcare.

Managing relationships and emotion work

Lastly, the findings highlighted another role for working mothers which was emotion work. This work was required to manage their relationships with their children's caregivers. Respondents had to put effort into workplace relationships, the relationships with the team around the child and family relationships. This emotion work is not regarded as meaningful or seen as something that depletes women's inner resources to manage their work and care. Apart from getting support from paid services, families need to link non-parental care and parental care (Hochschild, 2005). The mothers in this study were also in charge of managing the relationships despite time constraints, inflexible workplaces and fathers' lack of involvement. These challenges seemed to explain the importance of managing good relationships with the team around the child. Therefore, policy makers need to understand the situation involving multiple carers, most of whom were managed by mothers in order to lighten their burdens.

As a result, many respondents felt guilty about not having more time to spend with their children. In this respect, policy makers need to pay attention to relieving anxiety of mothers, given that emotional support for time and energy have traditionally been regarded as individual or family problems (Erickson, 2005). Supporting maternal time could be considered in terms of gender equality legislation and would help both with the practical burdens of being working mothers and also with the accompanying emotional burdens. The families in this study have also made many adjustments in their residence arrangements which can be disruptive to family life, personal life and marital relations (e.g. commuting families). The findings showed that mothers were expected

to manage their feelings without support or concerns even though emotional labour tends to come from rigid organizational requirements (Wharton, 2009). In this respect, policy makers should investigate the emotional burdens of female employees who are responsible for childcare for the dual aim of female employment (avoiding career-break) and fertility in the long term. For this, qualitative research is needed given the abundance of quantitative evidence.

Working mothers in this study therefore had many burdens to manage: practical childcare arrangements; coordinating childcare across many services and with after school activities; inflexible working practices; long working hours; building and managing a team around the child and dealing with the gender inequality at home and at work related to Confucian values and norms. Some of those experiences reflect that policy can be constrained by a wide range of factors in the socio-cultural backgrounds of citizens (Esping-Anderson, 1999; Hudson and Lowe, 2009). As a reasonable alternative, Esping-Anderson (2002) suggested the de-familialization of childcare burden as the main task in order to encourage cooperation among work, policies and the family. Arguably, this is the main task for the Korean welfare regime to relieve the childcare burdens on parents, in particular mothers. Within the situation, respondents were expected to fully conduct the multiple roles without enough support from husbands, the employers and colleagues in the workplace and from the government in terms of legislation to help improve work life balance provisions and gender equality. These experiences presented gender inequality which seemed to be difficult to resolve and involved mothers in making their own alternative strategies due to this inflexibility.

In order to improve the situation, it would require policy makers to consider adopting comprehensive and universal welfare approaches, otherwise, the current problems (e.g. low female employment rate and low fertility rates) are likely to continue within this childcare and non-family friendly culture. So far this chapter examined policy implications based on main findings and we now move to consider implications for future research studies.

10.3 Research implications

The qualitative approach of this thesis generated a multifaceted and rich set of data through which it examined the processes, experiences and feelings associated with managing childcare with paid work.

Limitations

Since this thesis aimed to examine successes in managing work and childcare, respondents were recruited based on demographic profiles (e.g. household income, number of children, employment status). The experiences of respondents were generally settled and stable and

although several respondents were classified into low-income families, they were actually financially comfortable due to supports from their own parents or their temporary situations (e.g. probationary employment) which would improve soon. However, the recruitment strategy was still useful for identifying common strategies for managing daily challenges of combining work and care. The sampling and findings were thus more likely to reflect typicality (Silverman 2010) among a particular group of working mothers than diversity. However, the analysis did show a wide variation in experiences of managing childcare and work and these were illustrated in the four contrasting case studies. Given the nature of qualitative research, the small sample (23 respondents) is still limited in representing the Korean population. It would tend to miss respondents who were outside the mid-thirties age range, living outside of capital Seoul, or engaged in managerial positions. So the findings are more appropriate for extrapolation (Silverman, 2010) than generalisation. Nevertheless, this study followed Lewis and Ritchie (2003) who asserted the possibility for inferential generalisation. That is, the experiences of these respondents could be regarded as fairly typical of similar mothers from the same socio-economic backgrounds, doing similarly demanding jobs, living in similar situations in the city of Seoul.

Though this study was not based on a feminist perspective, gender inequality was one of the main themes to emerge from the analysis. However, most respondents did not say they had experienced direct gender discrimination at work or conflicts with mothers-in-law or husbands, which also seemed to contribute to stable management of their work and childcare arrangements. Yet, they did talk about problems resulting from gender inequality. It could be therefore, that they downplayed this aspect of their working lives and they accepted a gendered division of childcare with husbands. Thus, the subjective perceptions of only a single family member (mother) could be a limitation in terms of understanding the wider situations of dual-earner families in male-dominated society and patriarchal culture.

Future research study

The main findings suggested useful ideas for future research directions. This study revealed the importance of grandmother care for Korean mother's ability to remain in the paid workforce. Future studies thus could explore the views of grandmothers on helping their adult children with childcare in order to investigate the dependence on grandmother care. Given that the dependence was related to long working hours, which required flexible care, and changes in residence arrangements where grandmothers moved into their adult children homes for part of the week or all the time, future studies can examine daily time-use of dual-earner families in more depth. In particular, the wraparound care found in this study might be useful for looking at the time-use outside of regular working hours in order to find gaps in the provision of formal childcare.

This study also focused on the circumstances surrounding working mothers' management of work and care rather than looking in detail at the impact of working on the mothers' lives or their roles as mothers. Many mothers expressed strong feelings of guilt due to time constraints. Future studies thus could explore working mothers' identity, their self-confidence, self-esteem and their feelings about being a working mother (especially feelings of guilt) and their views of gendered division of childcare and household labour. These kinds of questions related to mothers being carers and workers, would be better explored using qualitative methods. Whereas it seems in Korea there is a strong preference for quantitative methods, but this only provides a partial picture and is not very good at capturing the complexity of everyday practices and management strategies. In addition, future studies could include respondents from more diverse backgrounds, such as women outside of Seoul or who telecommute or who are self-employed. The main themes of this study can provide ideas for formulating new analytical frameworks that would incorporate such things as exploring the changes in residence arrangements among all members of the family (grandmothers, children and husbands) that are made specifically to support maternal employment, the provision and adjustments made to provide wraparound care, the management of relationships with care providers, the emotion work, and the organisation of daily journeys. Above all, Skinner's concept (2003) of coordination points proved useful for case studies in Korean context even within the framework formulated by English cases. This framework could be used and expanded more, encouraging researchers to apply it to cases in other countries.

Appendix 1. Confirmation of Ethical Approval

THE UNIVERSITY *of York*

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIAL POLICY AND
SOCIAL WORK ETHICS COMMITTEE
Heslington, York YO10 5DD
Direct Telephone (01904) 321480
Facsimile (01904) 321481
<http://www.york.ac.uk/spsw>

19th May 2014

Dear Sir/Madam

**PROPOSAL SUBMITTED FOR ETHICAL APPROVAL TO THE DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIAL POLICY AND SOCIAL WORK ETHICS COMMITTEE AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF YORK**

This is to confirm that proposal for the project "*Mothers, paid work and children in Korea (PhD thesis)*" was submitted by Mina Lee to the above committee on the 30th April and was approved on 19th May 2014.

ARR. Lowndale

Becky Tunstall
Chair – SPSW Ethics Committee

Signed in Becky's absence

Appendix 2. A flyer for recruiting respondents (translated into Korean)

Are You a Working Mother?

Please participate in research!

What is the research about?
I want to understand what everyday life is like for working mothers!
What do working mothers do to manage their childcare? Who helps them pick up and drop off children?
How do they manage childcare with working?

Why is it important?
How do you succeed in your everyday lives? Your voices will be valuable materials for better life of Korean working mothers!

Who can take part?
A working mother (either working full-time or part time) Having at least one child who is aged between 0 and 12 years old.

What is involved?
A friendly informal interview with me lasting about an hour


What to do next?
Please Contact me to arrange an interview!



**Contact me for
More Information**
Mina Lee



Appendix 3. Consent form (translated into Korean)



CONSENT FORM

Title of Research Project: How do working mothers manage childcare arrangements?

This form is designed to check that you are happy to give your permission to do the interview and that you understand your details will be kept confidential.

Name of researcher: Mina Lee

Contact details: (My telephone number and email address)


Please tick, if you agree with each section.	Agree	Disagree
1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without having to give any reason, and without my care or legal rights being affected.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. I agree with audio-recording of the interview process, and transcript of the recorded data, which will be used only for this research.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. I agree to take part in the above study and will permit the use of my words as anonymised quotes in any written work related to this project	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. I understand that if I tell you things that raise concerns about the welfare of your children or other people then the researcher may have to break confidentiality and report that information to the responsible authorities.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Name of Participant	Date	Signature

Name of Researcher	Date	Signature

If you agreed, could you please leave your phone number in order to make interview time?	
--	--


Information for Directors

<p>Help me recruit working mothers for a research Project:</p> <p>How do working mothers manage childcare arrangements?</p>	
<p>Who Am I? My name is Mina Lee. I am a student at the University of York in England. I am doing a research project for my doctorate, supervised by Dr. Christine Skinner, at the same University.</p>	
<p>What is the research about? This research study aims to find out what everyday life is like for working mothers and how easy or hard is it to make successful childcare and work arrangements.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• How do working mothers manage their childcare?• How do childcare arrangements fit with working hours?• How do working mothers get their children to and from school and/ or childcare and themselves to work?• Who helps them pick up and drop off children?	
<p>Why is it important? This research is crucial to find out daily needs of working mothers. This study will raise questions about the childcare policies in Korea in order to find measures to improve them. Therefore, this research will provide valuable materials for better life of Korean working mothers. Along with this, this study will propose how childcare policies can better support</p>	

<p>working mothers to understand what kinds of childcare services they need to fit with their working commitments.</p>
<p>How can you support this research?</p> <p>I would like to meet participants, if mothers are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A mother who is currently employed either working full-time or part time (except for mothers taking maternity / childcare leave or self-employed) • A married or partnered mother having at least one child who is aged between 0 and 12 years old. <p>Taking part will involve having a friendly informal interview with me lasting about an hour. I will arrange a time and place that is suitable for mothers. All participants will receive a small token in appreciation for taking part and giving up some of their time to talk to me (like a pen).</p> <p>If you agree with the recruitment, can I ask you to do the following things?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Could you please let me post a flyer (attached) on the noticeboard? • Could you please let me put the copies of 'letter of invitation' under the flyer? • Could you please distribute the 'letter of invitation' to working mothers in your class? Hopefully, you can give the letter to the mothers with brief explanation. However, it may be time consuming to you. If so, could you put them in the bag of children or like a way of giving parents letter as usual? <p>Mothers who wish participate in the research will directly contact me, you do not need to do anything further.</p>
<p>How the participants and their information will be protected?</p> <p>This research has been approved by a research ethics committee at the University of York. Thus, all the procedures for this research will involve careful ethical considerations including;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For the protection of privacy, the personal information will be anonymised by using codes and made up false names. Thus, any information about your institution and teachers also will be carefully dealt with as the private information. • The data will be saved in encrypted computer drive which is accessible by password. • The data will be used only for this research, and they will be destroyed before 2018. • The participation in this is completely voluntary and they may refuse to participate at any time. • Although this research will protect confidentiality in ethical way, if a participant raise serious concerns about welfare of her children or other people, then the researcher may have to break confidentiality and report that information to the responsible authorities.
<p>My Contact Details I will be happy to answer any questions that you have about this study. You may contact me at (My telephone number and email address)</p> <p>This research is being supervised by Dr Christine Shinner. For your information, Dr Christine Shinner (Christine's email address) Department of Social Policy and Social Work, University of York, Heslington, York (YO10 5DD), UK.</p>

Information for Participants



<p>A research Project:</p> <p>How do working mothers</p> <p>manage childcare</p> <p>arrangements?</p>	
<p>Who Am I?</p> <p>My name is Mina Lee. I am a student at the University of York in England. I am doing a research project for my doctorate, supervised by Dr. Christine Skinner, at the same University.</p>	
<p>What is the research about?</p> <p>This research study aims to find out what everyday life is like for working mothers and how easy or hard is it for mothers to make successful childcare and work arrangements.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• How do working mothers manage their childcare?• How do childcare arrangements fit with working hours?• How do working mothers get their children to and from school and/ or childcare and themselves to work?• Who helps them pick up and drop off children?	
<p>Why is it important?</p> <p>This research is crucial to find out about how working mothers succeed in their everyday lives to manage working alongside making childcare arrangements for their children. This study will raise questions about the childcare policies in Korea in order to help policy makers find measures to improve them to help working mothers. Therefore, your voices will be valuable materials for making better life of Korean working mothers.</p>	

How can you take part?

If you would like to take part, I would like to talk to you about your everyday life if you are:

- A mother who is currently employed either working full-time or part time (except for mothers taking maternity / childcare leave or self-employed)
- A married or partnered mother having at least one child who is aged between 0 and 12 years old.

Taking part will involve having a friendly informal interview with me lasting about an hour. I will arrange a time and place that is suitable for you; it could be in your home, your workplace or your child's nursery if there is a private, quiet space we can use. I will arrange it wherever you prefer at your convenience.

Your participation in this is completely voluntary and you may refuse to participate at any time. If you decide to withdraw your participation later, you can feel free to appeal your opinion.

All participants will receive a small token in appreciation for taking part and giving up some of their time to talk to me. This will be a little gift from England such as a pen, or a key ring.

How can we make the interview time?

If you agree with the participations,

- Could you please directly contact me (010-4122-7784 or ml992@york.ac.uk). Phone is Recommended as it might be simpler for you.
- Please send me a text message with your convenient time for calling. I will call to you for making interview time and place.

How your details will be protected?

This research has been approved by a research ethics committee at the University of York. Thus, all the procedures for this research will involve careful ethical considerations including

- Your personal information will be anonymised by using codes and a false name
- Your data will be saved in encrypted computer drive which is only accessible by password that I will keep confidential; no one else will have the password.
- Your data will be used only for this research, and they will be destroyed before 2018.
- With your permission, the interview process will be documented by audio-recording. The recorded data will be transcribed as a form of electronic file.
- Although this research will protect confidentiality in ethical way, if you raise serious concerns about welfare of your children or other people, then the researcher may have to break confidentiality and report that information to the responsible authorities.

My Contact Details

I will be happy to answer any questions that you have about this study. You may contact me at (My telephone number and email address)

This research is being supervised by Dr Christine Skinner. For your information, Dr Christine Skinner (Christine's email address) Department of Social Policy and Social Work, University of York, Heslington, York (YO10 5DD), UK.

If you wish you make a complaint about my conduct, please contact: Ethics Committee, Department of Social Policy and Social Work, University of York, Heslington, York (YO10 5DD), UK

Appendix 6. Topic Guide

- **Explaining the Research**

- Introduction of the researcher and research

- Interview process and ethical issues

- Informed consent

- **Personal Background Information**

- Essential information for probing research topics

- *Before starting the interview in earnest, can I have some basic questions? I would like to know your background information. It will be useful for understanding your experiences.*
- *May I ask your age?*
- *Who is living with you in your house? (partner, children, and other adult)*
- *May I ask marital status of you and your partner (marriage, cohabitation)?*
- *How many children do you have? How old are they?*
- *Could you tell me the type of your occupation (professional/ managerial, intermediate professional/ administrative, skilled/ unskilled manual)?*
- *Could you tell me your working type (full time or part time)?*
- *How many hours do you work per day/ week?*

(If has other adult(s) living together)

- *Why do you live with (him/her/them)?*

(If has child living separately)

- *Are any of your children living somewhere else? How long have they lived there?*
- *Who are they living with? Why is that?*

1. Choice of Childcare

Q: *I would like to start our conversation by asking about your **current choices of childcare**.*

Q: Can you explain to me **what kinds of childcare arrangements** you have in place for looking after your child (or children) when you are at work?

Q: How does that work? Is it the same **every day** of the week?

Q: IF HAS CHILDREN OF **SCHOOL AGE**: Can you explain how the arrangements are different in school holidays?

Q: Do your childcare arrangements also **differ at other times**?

- Probe for **consistency** by week-to-week
- What are your **emergency** arrangements?

Q: You described how you currently arrange childcare. Can you tell me which things did you **carefully consider** for deciding the (current) arrangements?

Q: Thinking about all these different things you had to think about in choosing your childcare arrangements: which ones would you say were **most important** in making your decision?

Q: How do you feel about your current childcare arrangements? Are you **satisfied with** the types of care you have chosen?

2. Coordinating Childcare with Work Commitment

Q: Now I would like to ask what it is like for you in a **typical working day** – please explain how do you get your child or children to the school/childcare services and yourself to work?

Q: Is there **a point** in the day when (child/children) (has/have) to be **transported** from one childcare provider to another (including, of relevant, school)? If so, what extent the points effective?

Q: How do you **feel about** these arrangements for getting yourself to and from work and your (child/children) to and from (school and) childcare?

Q: In a typical working week, what would you say is the **key thing** you rely on most and could not do without in relation to transporting yourself and (child/children)?

Q: Is there anything that might **make it easier** for you to go to work and manage travel arrangements?

3. The Team around Your Child

*Q: I would like to talk a little more about the **(key) people who help** you with the children in getting them to and from childcare and school and help you look after them if they are sick. Can you tell me who supports you the most and what do they do to help?*

Q: Can you explain what it is like for you in managing these people to help you?

Only ask if currently getting help from grandparents (mostly grandmother)

*Q: What are the **benefits or drawbacks** of grandmother care?*

*Q: How do you **manage** grandmother (grandfather?) care and **relationship** with her?*

4. Supports from Husband

*Q: You have described who helps childcare including your family members. Now I would like to present issues focused on your husband and childcare. What extent your **husband takes part in childcare**?*

*Q: Could you tell me how your couple have **allocated the roles** of childcare so far?*

*Q: How do you **feel about** your husband's roles of childcare?*

5. Supports from Workplace

*Q: You also have a role as worker. Could you tell me how your **co-workers and employers** treat you as a working mother? For example, are you treated the same or differently as other women without children?*

*Q: Could you tell me to what extent your workplace has been **supportive** for your childcare responsibilities so far?*

*Q: How do you **feel about** the supports from workplace?*

6. Your Roles as a Mother

Q: Now, I would like to ask you about what it is like for you **being a working mother**? We know that it can be difficult for working mothers to manage everything they have to do, what is it like for you and your children?

7. Your Roles as a Wife, Daughter (in-Law)

Q: Thinking about your other **responsibilities** and relationships with adults **in your family** – with your husband, with your mother-in-law how does being a working mother affect them?

8. Combining your roles as a worker and a mother

Q: We have talked about your roles as a mother and working woman. Among your various roles, which role is **the most crucial** in your life?

Q: How do you **combine your roles**?

Q: How do you feel about your own life **as a working mother in Korean society**?

9. Policy suggestions

Q: You have described how you recognize your role as a working mother in this society. Now, I would like to ask about your **ideas of governmental supports** for your roles and life.

Q: What do you think the **government could do** to make life easier for working mothers with young children in Korea (in terms of reconciling childcare with work commitment)?

10. Final questions

Q: Is there **anything else** that we have missed that you think is important tell me?

Q: Additional Questions for Reference (Showing a card which makes respondents choose one answer)

- Range of monthly family income

- A. under ₩ 1,525,860
- B. ₩ 1,525,860 - under ₩ 2, 670,377
- C. ₩ 2, 670,377 - under ₩ 3, 628,171
- D. ₩ 3, 628,171 - under ₩ 4, 908,172
- E. ₩ 4, 908,172 - under ₩ 9, 686,371
- F. ₩ 9, 686,371 and over

-Education

- A. None
- B. Primary School
- C. Secondary School
- D. College (normally two to three-year course, associate degree)
- E. University (normally four-year course, bachelor's degree)
- F. Higher Education (master degree, doctoral degree)

Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this interview. If you have any comments or questions later, please contact with me whenever you want.

Definitions

Definitions of terms specific to this thesis, including abbreviations are as follows.

1. Terms related to paid work

Terms	Definitions
Working mother	(Currently) Employed mothers in paid jobs
Full-time work	Working more than 36 hours per week
Part-time work	Working less than 36 hours per week
Typical working days	Monday to Friday
Typical working hours	9.00-18.00 hours
Atypical working days / hours	Outside typical working days / hours

2. Terms related to childcare

Terms	Definitions
Dependent child	A child aged 0-12 years old
Childcare	(Mainly) Non-parental childcare to cover parents' paid work
Formal childcare	Registered /public childcare services by professional caregivers
Informal childcare	Unregistered childcare by family, baby sitter, HW etc.
Regular Childcare	Planned and scheduled childcare on a regular basis
Wrap-Around Childcare	Regular childcare outside typical working hours /days, overtime
Back-up Childcare	Unscheduled and irregular childcare for emergency situations
Day nursery	Care-oriented preschool institution, opening 7.30-19.30 hours
Nursery school	Education-oriented preschool institution, no rule for opening times
Home-based day nursery	Built in a private home, but formal institution like other day nurseries
Workplace day nursery	Established for employees' childcare, opening until 21-22.00 hours
i-dolbom service	Registered /public childcare service at child's home
Out-of-School-Hour care (OSH)	Childcare before and after school hours, in or outside primary school
Hak-Won (HW)	Private learning centres for academic subjects or hobbies
Residential (live-in) babysitter	A babysitter staying with a family overnight at least 24 hours a week

3. Terms related to managing childcare with paid work

Terms	Definitions
Manage / management	All the processes involved in fulfilling roles as a working mother
Arrange/ arrangement	Preparatory actions for paid work, mostly arranging childcare
Coordinate / Coordination	Focused on temporal and spatial management on typical working days
Daily journeys	Family's journeys among home, workplace, and childcare places
Coordination points	Dropping off and picking up their children to/from those places
Shuttle bus	Transport service by institutions, helping with child's daily journeys

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